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One of *Alquntâm*'s principal functions is that of acting as leader of the *kusiut* dances of the supernatural beings. As already described, these take place in *Nusmät·a*, the name of which is changed to *Nusqalsmaias* for the occasion, while the supernatural ones are awaiting *Alquntâm*'s entry at the winter solstice. As soon as he comes, his awesome face causes most of his guests to rush forth. Among those remaining is *Sxoaxsfâlâsis*, the Lawyer, his chief adviser in *kusiut* matters. This being is somewhat indefinitely regarded as a supernatural grizzly bear. He is subordinate to *Alquntâm*, and cannot himself initiate proposals, but he can interrupt the speeches of his superior if he feels bold. Human singers are under his special guidance. He is so powerful that if he turns his head in anger at any mortal, the latter falls dead. As far as could be learnt, *Sxoaxsfâlâsis* is concerned only with *kusiut* matters and never visits this earth. [535]

One of the most intangible of the Bella Coola supernatural beings is a woman, *Kämaits*, *Ataila*, "The Sorrow-Maker" or *Tlli Snudaiil*, "The Slave-Owner." Boas (p. 28) recorded fairly definite information about her, but the writer could gather only inconsequential fragments. Mortals are as slaves to her, but she takes little interest either in their welfare or actions. In the beginning of time, *Alquntâm* sent her down to earth to watch the behaviour of mortals and report to him. She needed a central location for this purpose and accordingly chose Restoration Bay, where she could watch the canoes as they passed up and down the coast. At first the inhabitants of the earth showed her great respect, but gradually she was ignored and canoes passed her home without stopping. Moreover, she began to fear that she might be injured by the proximity of mankind, and especially that human footsteps might contaminate and mar her supernatural frame. So she fled far to the south, whither no one knows. In fact, no one is even absolutely certain that she went to the south. According to a well-known Bella Coola tradition, a man once tried to climb Mount *Nusqalst* and found a pleasant grassy place near [114]

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Island chief was felt by the Bella Coola to be quite natural; one of their own chiefs might have resented the insult in the same manner. This account may have no historical basis, but it is a clear example of Bella Coola sentiment.

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Further examples may help to clarify this point. A few years ago a number of Kwakiutl Indians visited Bella Coola to perform a mourning ceremony in honour of a deceased Bella Coola who had a Kwakiutl name from his grandfather, a member of that tribe. All the natives were invited to a large house, where the visitors gave a dance according to their own ancestral myths; the songs which were used recounted the history of the Kwakiutl name of the dead man. After thus displaying their prerogatives, they felt themselves obliged, and proud, as hosts, to give presents as validation. The sum of $546 was distributed among the guests. Realizing that it would be impossible to return such a sum by holding ceremonials in Fort Rupert, the home of the Kwakiutl, the leading Bella Coola decided to return the compliment immediately. The amount to be given was discussed at great length. Appreciating the courtesy of the foreigners in thus coming to pay honour to the deceased, it was not wished to insult them by giving a larger present, which would have had the effect of intimating that the recipients considered the $546 a trifling amount. Accordingly it was finally agreed to give the visitors about $300, which was done as validation of a Bella Coola ceremony at which the strangers were present. Thus the hosts allowed themselves to be shamed as a mark of courtesy. Not to be outdone in politeness, the Kwakiutl chief made a speech, expressing his willingness to allow the Bella Coola to drive him (this occurred in the days of horses and carts) to the wharf to take the steamer. In other words, he allowed the Bella Coola to put him in their debt, as they had allowed him and his party to do with respect to the distribution of money. The visit terminated with friendly relations maintained on both sides.

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The need of validating every ceremonial act by presents can be further illustrated by the following instance. When

the writer was in Bella Coola, a non-ceremonial entertain- 128
ment was given one evening at which several men sang 538
and performed. The writer was asked to sing a Bella Coola 556*
song, which he did in the belief that it was not one that was
incorporated in the ancestral myth of anyone. Unfortunately, 424
his teacher had erred, and as soon as the song was completed
an old woman arose and stated that it belonged to her ancestral
family. She avoided the difficulty of its singing by imme-
diately announcing that the singer was her "son." Thus the
writer was adopted into a Bella Coola family, a circumstance
which aided him considerably in collecting information. This
did not alter the fact that a ceremonial song had been sung.
Accordingly, the woman gave presents to the guests, thereby [597]
legalising the adoption, and saving herself from the disgrace
of having one of her songs used as if it were a matter of no
consequence, free to anyone.

SEATING

Presents are also a means of obtaining seats. Every Bella 554
Coola has at least one name embodied in an ancient myth. 556*
A man who wishes to become a chief can do so only by giving
lavish presents to make his designation "strong," "firm," or [622]
"bright," to use Bella Coola expressions. Such gifts increase
the importance of the owner's name, and they obtain for him [424]
the right to a seat, more or less definitely located, in the house.
Since all Bella Coola habitations are built on similar lines, a
man can occupy his wonted position when summoned to a
ceremony in any house. The validating of ancestral names [553]
and the acquisition of seats are among the important features
which occur at potlatches.

In the beginning of time, when the first people were sent [773]
down to populate the earth, it is assumed that each who established a village, consisting of a single house, seated himself in the best spot within the dwelling, namely the central position behind the fire; his younger relatives ranged either beside him

556 wards and forwards away the contestants with shouting and merriment, and those who have failed to carry away their boxes of food hasten to remove them out of the danger zone. It is a time of licence, and even one of the most influential chiefs may be struck by the ram or his food scattered without consideration. The ram is driven back, but those who bear it steer the log so that instead of passing out through the door it strikes the front wall, shattering some of the boards with their old paintings. With a shout they drive forwards again until part of the wall at the back of the house is likewise destroyed. Then those within the house gain the mastery and the log is carried outside, dragging its struggling bearers with it. They drop the log and return inside as if nothing untoward had occurred. This destruction of the house walls is a necessary preparation for their replacement with new paintings on new boards. When quiet has been restored a herald stands up.

"Listen!" he cries. "Ye chiefs, ye wives of chiefs, and ye commoners, soon we shall hear the supernatural beings."

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556 Then the singers[4] beat out the tune of any *kusiut*. He whose song it is begins to dance, using the type of which he has the prerogative, but as the supernatural being with whom he has a ceremonial affinity is not present, the dance is not considered sacred. As soon as one *kusiut* has finished, the tune of another is beaten, and he too dances. The singers change from *kusiut* to *kusiut*, and please themselves about the order in which they shall dance, also about how many shall perform. This continues until late in the night. Then they beat out a *sisaok* tune and the member of that society to whom it belongs performs his dance, a non-sacred affair, like those of the *kusiut*. One after another dances as his or her tune is beaten out, until dawn approaches. Meanwhile several *sisaok* have been sent outside 000

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[104] [4] Henceforth in this monograph the term "singer" will be used as a translation of the Bella Coola word, [illegible]. The singers sit together behind the fire. It is their duty to remember the tune and text of every song; to beat out this tune for every dancer and to accompany him by singing the words of his song.

with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for kusiut 593
ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from them, and 575
sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy 556*
being had landed there. At once there is great excitement
within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove [781]
them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a
kusiut *siki* who is skilled in dealing with *Matlabila*, also called [776]
[illegible], the supernatural being closely connected with
the kusiut ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *siki*
raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

The accounts of all informants agree that much of the kusiut ritual was newly 177
imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, 424
[illegible], a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella
wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with 593
them as dower certain kusiut prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time
the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor 575
were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the people secluded in the
back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other 556*
hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with
them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural [425]
beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory
accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It [583]
appears certain that the prerogative of *siki* has recently been obtained from the
Bella Bella. *Siki* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man [563]
whose prerogative it is to tend the *kusiut* initiates in whom supernatural powers
are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for kusiut matters, known [791]
as a *hai-alikila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained
this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the
Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to them, as favoured, the term *siki*, as they
do for the *kusiut* "cures," though the Bella Bella name, *hai-alikila*, is used with
equal frequency. The present *siki* have endeavoured to claim for themselves
certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *kusiut*. In this account
of a potlatch it is assumed that a *siki* is functioning on all occasions, but in many
cases any senior *kusiut* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings
to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *kusiut* was regarded as
capable of doing so.

Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a [177]
certain *[illegible]* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time.

request X to have his son initiated, promising him financial assistance. 556* 575

These preliminaries have probably been commenced before; at any rate they are completed as soon as possible, so that a few nights later X is able to instruct a herald to invite the *susak* to his house. The singers are in attendance. The father, or other relative, of one of those about to be received into the ranks of the *susak*, expounds in general terms the ancestral myth containing the name to be conferred, or will ask a fluent speaker to deputise for him. Another follows, until myths have been recited for all. The singers listen attentively, knowing that without further instruction they are expected to compose two songs for each person, embodying a few salient points in the myth, without exposing the details. In point of fact, the singers have probably heard the myth on previous occasions. After a distribution of food, provided by X, the people disperse.

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For several days the singers work at the songs. The principles governing their composition are identical for all types. At night, as he walks in the forest, or at any other time, a singer constantly tries to compose a tune. Others do the same, and at intervals they meet, either in some lonely spot or in the back-room of a house. Each singer who has composed a tune beats out its time, humming as he does so; then another gives his tune, and perhaps a third. After much discussion, which in some cases becomes acrimonious, it is decided what two tunes are the best for so-and-so. Words are then supplied, a matter of less difficulty, all the singers assisting. In this way the fourteen songs required are provided. When ready, one of the singers informs X of the fact.

X decides that on a certain night two of the initiates shall begin a period of confinement in the back-room of his house. This information is passed round in secret by the *susak*, and the initiate, whom it will be convenient to refer to as Y, is duly warned. At dusk a reliable *susak* is sent out to the woods behind the village with one of the large cone-shaped whistles.

535 This is presently heard. Y may be in his own house, but a
536 once any number of *kusiut* rush in and conduct him, surround
575 in their midst, to the back room of X's dwelling. All the *kusiut* of the village begin to gather there; those who are not members of the society are also free to enter the main part of th house, though they cannot take any part in the proceedings.
[781] They lurk near the door, watching with intense interest wit fear, and ready to flee if the danger from supernatural beings seems too acute.

After some delay, a whistle is heard at intervals, gradually becoming louder as if the supernatural being, of which it is th voice, were coming nearer. Presently it sounds immediately outside the door, and a *kusiut* rushes forth. He returns in a moment, followed, amid the breathless excitement of the uni-
[532] tiated, by a figure masked as a bird or animal. The design represents Y's crest, or some creature with which one of his ancestors came in contact, and which is therefore regarded as having the same sociological importance. A member of the society has carved the mask, another wears it, but this the uninitiated do not know.

[776] "It is a *tatsiwam*,"[illegible] they gasp.

The figure crosses the house and bends down beside the singers to whom it appears to be whispering. Presently they begin, softly, to tap out a song in rapid time as if the supernatural visitor had just taught it to them. It is divided into two or three parts and the theme is taken from Y's ancestral myth.[illegible] After two or three rehearsals, the singers beat out the time more loudly and accompany it with their voices, while
[535] the masked figure dances. A number of older *kusiut* accompany the performer as he whirls around the house; it is pretended that this is necessary to shield the spectators, though the real function is to guide the dancer whose sight is handi-

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[illegible] Meaning, "What is displayed," or, "A materialization."

[illegible] If the neophyte is a son or other near relative of the chief who is giving the potlatch, the theme may consist of boasting references to the goods about to be distributed. This is customary for X himself if he performs as a *kusiut* at the actual ceremony.

[illegible]

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capped by the mask. If the *tutwinam* represents Wasp[illegible] or 556*
Grizzly Bear, he does not make a circuit and a fluent *susak* 575
explains that to do so would be unsafe owing to the ferocity
of these animals. When the song is ended, the figure passes [535]
into the back-room. After a short interval it reappears, recrosses the house, and leaves by the front door, to the accompaniment of increased whistling.

A few myths embody two *tutwinam*. In this case, a second figure presently enters and the same ritual is repeated for a second song. This usually differs, musically, from the first, being in three parts and with even more rapid time. More often, the second song is merely beaten out by the singers without the appearance of a *tutwinam* to supply an obvious source.

This is the normal, but not the only practice with regard 556*
to a *tutwinam*. In some cases the figure does not appear until 575
after the singing of the first song, and the uninitiated are told that it has been attracted by the music. In this case it passes into the back-room, later to reappear and leave by the front door. An announcement is made that it has brought a strange power, that Y has become peculiar, and that his name is now, for example, *Quaquasila*. A herald bears this news through the village. A second song is then sung in due course.

The *tutwinam* is difficult to classify among Bella Coola [776]
supernatural beings. It appears in the form of an ancestral crest, but the *susaok* do not seem to have taught the uninitiated to regard it as Y's actual forefather. It remains as a supernatural embodiment of his crest, a materialization of an element of family history, and a motive for the use by Y of a mask representing the apparition. The uninitiated do not seek further; they have seen a wonderful sight and are content.

Several of the older *susaok* stated that the *tutwinam* concept [177]
was not indigenous to Bella Coola; it had been recently [776]

[illegible] None of the first people came to earth as Wasps, but several received so much [773]
help from these insects that they are regarded as crests by the descendants of [825]
those whom they assisted.

* 556 adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through mar-
riage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diver-
575 sity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient
177 time for the procedure to become stabilized between the intro-
[776] duction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social
life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible
that the *tutwinam* was added to *sisaok* rites from the older
a'alk society (I, p. 273).

532 Whatever may have been the history of the *tutwinam*, it
* 556 provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have ap-
peared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, through-
575 out his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions.
[769] It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his
family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death.
[428] A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters
the design before using it.

* 556 A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third,
song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory
575 speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again
[537] sing the first song, and *sisaok* members of the audience join in.
Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung,
● [533] time after time, until the *sisaok* have thoroughly mastered
them. When the singers consider that this has been accomplished, they tell X, who communicates with the *sisaok* man
outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard.
[781] Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being
who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in
fear. At the same time some of the *sisaok* conduct to the back-room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night. The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y. Usually it is considered sufficient to seclude two on one night, though three may be attempted. When the songs of the last have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the preservation of an air of mystery by keeping out of sight of those who are not *kusiut*. Food is brought to them, and members of the society are free to enter the room at any time. Some of the older ones enlighten Y and his fellows with regard to the secret rites, and especially to the human origin of the whistle. Proud of his new status, an initiate never dreams of transmitting this information to those who are not members of the society. As a privilege, the neophytes are sometimes allowed to go out at night, care being taken that no uninitiated person shall see them. The length of the period of confinement varies according to the number of young people to be admitted, and on the actual time of the potlatch; the minimum duration is about two weeks, the maximum, four months. Sometimes the tediousness is lightened by the arrival of carpenters who have chosen this secret place to work at the *kusiut* masks. After all the initiates have been confined to the back-room, X continues to invite people to his house at frequent intervals to practise their songs. On each occasion food is distributed, so that the meetings are expensive to the host, but no donor grumbles about it, as thereby he establishes his prestige as a chief. 556* 575 [533]

THE VALIDATION OF *KUSIUT* NAMES

The next event is the validation of the initiates' *kusiut* names,[49] a ceremony termed *su'snditlm*. X, with the assistance of his family, piles on the floor of his house the goods which he intends to use for this purpose. In the old days these consisted of skins, blankets, food, baskets, boxes, slaves (symbolized by stones), canoes (symbolized by sticks), and so on. Nowadays, money is used. Towards dusk a herald summons the people to X's house. For many years it has been customary to invite everyone, but it is said that long ago only the *kusiut* would have been present. When all are seated, 553 556* 575 [208] [537]

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[49] Validation of the neophytes' names is essential at the potlatch itself, but chiefs endeavour to display their wealth and generosity to their fellow-villagers as well. Consequently, though donors are eager to perform this rite, it can be omitted entirely without affecting the potlatch.

Poor people, white guests, or others from whom no return can 553
possibly be received, share equally in the distribution; the 556 *
money goes to all to validate the transaction. On the other 575
hand, X expects that the presents, if any, made to a few individuals after the general distribution, will be returned with interest. In selecting the recipients of these he has been animated, first, by the necessity of repaying old debts, and secondly by his desire to make good investments in the shape of presents to those likely to show their chiefly nature by returning with heavy interest. No request is ever made for such repayment, but as the transaction has been publicly announced, a man fears to fail to repay, since that would lower [558]
his prestige. No one may refuse a present, no matter how embarrassing it may be.

After the gifts have been distributed the songs of the [533] ●
initiates are practised. Members of the *kusiut* society join in with the singers; the other spectators listen attentively, full of interest, but take no part. X with his helpers then gives food to all, and they depart.

Before the coming of the white man a potlatch was a rare 535
event, and *kusiut* members were initiated at local gatherings. 556 *
The period of confinement was the same as that just described, 575
but instead of merely practising the songs during the interval, the initiates appeared and danced to them. It will be con- 777
venient here to describe that ritual, emphasising the fact that at a potlatch, when the initiates can be confirmed in the presence of foreign guests, this preliminary rite does not take place.

After the distribution of goods the singers beat out* the 292
tune of any one of the initiates, and all emerge in close suc- 535
cession from the back-room, each wearing a blanket, without distinctive design, a collar of dyed and pounded cedar-bark 556 *
decorated with pendant weasel skins, and the distinctive *kusiut* 575
head-dress (see Plate 11).§ This consists of a circlet of grizzly 237
bear claws, surmounted in front by a small forehead mask; from the inner side of the circlet there rise a number of sea-lion

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*The present tense is used for uniformity.

§ [See ill. 116, facing p 218 - ANALYST]

one after another of the concealed initiates, while the audience, 535
consisting of *sisaok* alone, join in the singing. As the sounds 556
drift out to the guests, they too beat out some of their well- 575
known *sisaok* songs.

At high tide, as the canoes draw near, carefully guided by poles and paddles, the *sisaok* troop down to the beach to meet the guests, led by a *siki*, who alone wears an apron of puffin beaks and carries a rattle. [292] The singers beat out one of his tunes and the *siki* dances on the beach, while the supernatural whistle which has been sounding from the back-room of X's house, is now heard at his side, blown by an assistant under cover of his blanket. After the *siki* has danced, the singers [539] among the guests, and there are always enough of them to make possible the beating out of the better known tunes, sing one of their *siki*'s songs as he dances on the platform surmounting the canoes.

The Bella Coola *siki*, surrounded by a group of *sisaok*, now begins to turn about in a frenzied manner, always sunwise, bending down, then straightening himself, twisting and writhing like a maniac. Finally, standing erect, he pretends to throw something to the foreign *siki*, and then falls to the ground. The recipient makes the motion of catching something heavy, and at the same time one of his accomplices in the canoe sounds another *sisaok* whistle, deluding the uninitiated observers into the belief that some power has been transmitted, which is the source of the strange noise. The visiting *siki* revolves four times; twisting and bending, then straightens up and throws back his cloak, to expose a mask representing *Malakila*. This has been concealed there all the time, but the uninitiated readily believe it to be the creature which has made the noise, or else that it is an object miraculously made by this being. The *siki* revolves four times more, with the mask in plain sight and the whistle constantly booming, while a fluent speaker "explains" the meaning of it all to the uninitiated who are watching with interest from the background.

grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many 556* youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names 575 which have already been announced and validated among the 553 Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign guests. He seats the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely representatives. X requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the *kusiut* name of one of the initiates.

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The heralds repeat the new name with the usual badinage, so that it becomes well known to all present. [203] In like manner the *kusiut* name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings.

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into 556* the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with 264 which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they proceed to mix with their hands, as olachen grease and cranberries [252] are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in [415] readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the [539] shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to 539 beat out an ancient song of the type known as *[illegible]*. Each 556* of these has been handed down from the distant past, when some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself at a potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his [171]

533 earliest ancestors, and the text is commonly grandiloquently
556 phrased.[18] Frequently the singers alter the words slightly to suit the occasion, and sometimes compose entirely new words
[171] for an old tune. As they sing, they are aided by some of X's friends who rise and stand between the fire and the front door.
[532] They occasionally wear forehead masks carved with his crest to add dignity to the rite.

203 After the song the chiefs continue their meal, and there is much practical joking with the heralds.

522 "Don't you want some food?" X calls to one of them.

556 Without waiting for an answer he throws a box containing the liquid pulp, inclined at such an angle that the mess is spattered over the recipient. Occasionally, a herald will succeed in catching a box without spilling the contents, but usually he is smeared from head to foot, while the spectators shriek with laughter. It is one of the functions of a herald to be a laughing stock for the visitors.

556 During the afternoon X's wife and the members of her
583 family deliver to him the goods which they have amassed to "re-buy" her from her husband. These are called "washing material," as if they supplied X with wash-basin and toilet necessities. The speaker orates how the wife has lived up to her obligation in making this presentation, and how it will clear the path for her children. These goods will later on be distributed by X. They can be used for:

(1) Repayment of potlatch debts, or

(2) Making potlatch investments, or

(3) Validating names, either *susaok* or ancestral, for the children of his relatives.

It would be most disgraceful should any of the goods be applied to validating *susaok* names for any of X's own children, because they have come from his wife's people and react to the advantage of her children in any case. These goods are

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[18] Though not to the same extent as among the Kwakiutl where the words may describe how the sky is supported on a chief's shoulders, or how he has pushed his head into the land above.

* 556 ings to reward carpenters and others who had helped X prepare
184 for his potlatch, but in Bella Coola this was usually done the
following night.

* 556 Now comes what the Bella Coola regard as the most important feature of the potlatch.[29] The singers strike up one of the
769 songs of a senior *susaok*, perhaps a *siki* chosen for his skill in
535 acting. As he dances, clad in his ceremonial costume and
575 head-dress, whistling is heard without the house. A number of
susaok are making the noise and they modulate it so that it
[533] appears to draw nearer and nearer. This is effected either with
whistles of different sizes or by blowing harder. The dancer rushes out of the house. The whistling continues in a series of short bursts, as if a conversation were being carried on in that language. The *susaok* or *siki* returns, and the audience, silenced by the mystery of the affair, listens to his explanation:

"It is so-and-so," he announces, using the ancestral name of one of X's deceased relatives. "The crest has come to pay his son [or whatever relation X may be to him] a visit. I will bring him in."

While he speaks, continuous whistling is heard from without, but when he leaves the house it once more takes on the form of a dialogue. Presently he returns, followed by a masked figure in the centre of a group of members of the *susaok* society.
If the deceased's first ancestor had been an eagle, in that guise
[532] the figure will appear—an eagle mask on his head, and his
whole body, except perhaps the feet, covered by a large blanket thickly covered with eagle down and furnished with painted wooden wings. The dancer is usually entirely blinded by this costume, but he is guided by a number of the *susaok* whose presence is attributed to the necessity for guarding and paying honour to the supernatural visitor. Among those who accom-
[533] pany him there is always a man with a whistle, the note of
which simulates the cry of an eagle, and this is sounded at
intervals. The actor bends in imitation of a bird and shakes
[532] himself, lifting his head and opening the movable beak by

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[29]Though potlatches can be held without this feature.

*556 chief to pay somewhat lavishly, since the value of the copper
[435] depends on the amount expended on it.

[437] The $20 received by the poor man must not be casually
spent. He is expected to invite the whole village to his house,
*556 otherwise he would never again be given a copper. The heralds
735 call everyone to the house, the singers as usual being the first
to arrive. They beat out the *kusiut* song of anyone, to which
●[533] the owner dances; the songs are used one after another, until
[575] almost every member of the society has danced. *Sısaok* songs
may then be used in the same way. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the rite has no religious significance; it is merely a social affair. At the close of the dancing, the poor man distributes food to all, equivalent in value to the money received. It is probable that poor men sometimes give away slightly less than they have received, although any noticeable laxity in this would be punished by the receipt of no further coppers. The recipient of a copper from a fire derives no direct gain from it, though it is to his indirect advantage, since a person who has given away food is likely to receive larger presents on future occasions than one who has not.

Meanwhile the chief owning the copper is unable to use it
435 at his potlatch since the value, dependent on the goods ex-
*556 pended for it, is only $20, a sum so small that to use it would be insulting to his dead ancestor. There are several ways of increasing its value:

(1) *By Painting.* Taking advantage of some ceremony
[532] when a number of people are present, the owner gives a carpenter $10, for example, with a request that he paint on his copper a representation of the crest used by his, the owner's, first ancestor, when coming to this earth. Henceforth the value of the copper is $30.

435 (2) *By Naming.* The Bella Coola say that among the
552 Kwakiutl names are given to almost all coppers; in Bella
Coola it is a rare practice. Occasionally, a chief creates a
*556 name for his copper and validates this by presents to all the

701 than that of anyone else. The Bella Coola do not rationalize
in a scientific manner; if a man holds a belief firmly, he acts
156 on it without questioning its logic. Moreover, if a professional
warrior functions a number of times, this in itself is enough to
strengthen his conviction that he must act henceforth in the
same way. It can be said with confidence that the owner of
[463] a professional prerogative has considerable belief in his own
powers, that this acts on himself to render him proficient, and
that the majority of the community have respect for his
capabilities.

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THE PROFESSION OF SINGER

424 Singing is one of the professions open to a Bella Coola
either through natural ability or an ancestral prerogative.
533 There is a constant need for men able to sing and compose
[463] songs for every kind of ceremonial, so a young man of talent
has little difficulty in gaining admittance to the choir. He
may even win great distinction and become recognized as the
leading authority on musical matters. None the less, his
success is considered to be accidental and unsubstantial, lacking
the foundation that comes from the possession of a duly
validated professional prerogative. A person made a singer
by the latter means may be entirely unable to compose; in
this case he is not a member of the choir, although he enjoys
the social distinction which he has won by distributing goods
to confirm his professional name. The singer most respected
is he who combines with natural ability a confirmed prerogative
to give substance and power to his position and compositions.
[553] At the death of such an one, an effort is always made
[428] by the members of his ancestral family to transmit the name
to a youth who has shown musical promise. Arguments and
[578] differences of opinion are common among the members of the
choir and in such cases the self-assurance and influence of a
man whose position has been made strong by the distribution
of presents often outweighs that of one who can rely only on
his actual ability.

holder of the potlatch, may wish to confirm a prerogative and 556
requests the donor to allow this to take place at his ceremony. 575
Permission is never refused, since the more incidental rites, the greater is the prestige of the whole. The young man on whom the name is to be confirmed is always told what is planned for him, and his relatives instruct him what to do.

As the time for the potlatch draws near, the donor requests the singers to prepare an *a'alk* song for the youth. The theme [533]
always deals with some incident of his ancestral story with which the singers are already familiar. If a number of youths are to be made *a'alk*, a song must be composed for each. The 532
carpenters are also requested to make for the initiate one, or sometimes two, masks representing a supernatural being, either 556
human or animal, connected with the myth in which occurs 575
the *a'alk* name about to be conferred. The design is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family concerned; it is usually, though not necessarily, the same as that employed by the last incumbent of the name. If the designation about to be confirmed is one which came down from above in the beginning of time, the mask usually represents the guise adopted by the first user of the name; if the prerogative were obtained on earth, it portrays the being from whom the right was received. These arrangements are made in secret, and are known only to the craftsmen, the donor of the potlatch, and his family.

On the night of *xláxtmm*, when the work for the potlatch is 556
allotted, the youth who is to be made an *a'alk* is confined 575
within the back-room of the house, presumably in company with the *sisaok* initiates, though there is ambiguity on this point. After the general arrangements have been made, an elderly *a'alk* whose aid has been requested, suddenly rushes from the house as if he had heard some noise. One of the *siki*, or an influential chief, makes some allegedly witty remark as to why he has gone out, and then follows, taking with him the dance head-dress belonging to the *a'alk*. This is identical with the type worn by *sisaok*, one of the many points of resemblance [184]
[535]

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society and decline of the *a'alk*, concealment has become limited to initiates of the former organization. 575

No more *a'alk* dances take place during the potlatch preliminaries, but with the coming of the first group of foreign guests, the host displays as many types of dance as he is entitled to, including *a'alk* if he has the necessary prerogative. On this occasion other *a'alk*, especially relatives of the donor, give their dances, the only time that such are used at potlatches except by novices receiving names. This is repeated on the arrival of every party of guests. [178] 556 575 535

Meanwhile the novice, or novices, has been practising the proper steps for his appearance, which always occurs immediately before the entry of the masked figure representing the donor's dead relative. As already mentioned, there are four kinds of *a'alk* dances, known as *nusqwal*,[8] *llaiyākam*, *qi'aqa*, and *am'lal-a*. A similar song is used for a dancer of any one [533] of these four; the text describes some small incident of the ancestral myth in which the name occurs, such as the bringing down of the prerogative by the first incumbent in the beginning of time. At the proper moment, the singers beat this out and the audience joins them in singing it. Then the singers begin to strike rapidly on the floor with double beats, assisted [533] by the guests who clap their hands in rapid couplets. Out comes the dancer, resplendent in his head-dress decorated with weasel skins, and women with the required prerogative begin to drone. If his prerogative is as a *llaiyākam* or *qi'aqa*, he proceeds to a place beside the fire and begins to run around it, sunwise, in short mincing steps, revolving at the same time on himself. He clasps his hands behind his back and bends down, then stands upright with palms extended upwards, never ceasing to move his feet in rapid steps. This type of dance is far more violent than a *sisauk* one, and the amount of energy expended by a dancer in his rapid circuits of the fire is tremendous. Never, even for a moment, are his feet quiet, while his body twists and bends in an amazing fashion. After two

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[8] Among the supernatural beings, the *nusqwal* is a yearling mountain goat. [776]

556 or three rounds he retires utterly exhausted. The time beaten
575 out for a *nusqwal* or *am'lal·a* dancer is the same. He too comes
535 near the fire and at first dances in the same manner until the
[533] singers in unison bellow out, *Wai*··, "More." With a run
that ends in a crashing leap that seems to shake the floor, the performer takes his position between the fire and one of the side walls and begins to revolve furiously upon himself. His body is bent forward until it seems as if all that prevents him from falling to the floor is his hands clutched together as far as possible behind his back; while his feet move so rapidly that the short mincing steps run into each other. Gradually the beating becomes less violent, only to be followed by another cry of *Wai*··, and another rush and jump that lands the dancer behind the fire. Here he revolves once more in the same furious fashion; the same is repeated on the side of the fire opposite to the place where he first performed, and finally between the fire and the door. *Nusqwal* and *am'lal·a* are the most strenuous of all Bella Coola dances and the performer is glad to retire. He afterwards joins the audience. This dance entails no taboo or restrictions on the dancer.

This terminates the performance of this type of dance at a potlatch, but among the goods distributed are some to validate the name acquired by the dancer, and others to legalize his actual display.

574 The occasion on which importance and solemnity are
575 attached to *a'alk* dances is during potlatches, but they are
535 also given at other times. Most Bella Coola performances
are so steeped in the presence of the supernatural that the
element of enjoyment is secondary, but in the spring, after the
[796] end of the *kusiut* season and before the salmon come to the
rivers, dances for pleasure are of common occurrence. A *sisaok* can call his fellows to his house and the singers beat out *sisaok* songs to which the owners dance, but the most common hosts are *a'alk*. Of course an individual may be a member of both societies, but the heralds invite the guests in his *a'alk* name. Those summoned include both members of the society

and those who are not. Any *a'alk*, provided that he has enough 574
food for a meal, can call in his neighbours, but the one who 575
usually does so is a man who has received his name a year or 535
two before the occasion.

A few days before the time selected, the host asks the 575
singers to compose a new song for him. For a *nusqwal* dancer
particularly, and in some cases for any one of the other three 574
divisions of the society, the text does not deal with incidents 535
connected with the host's ancestral story, but with humorous
or disgraceful incidents of the present time. If a man has 533
caught ten salmon and kept them all for himself, his miserliness [626]
is commented upon in the song; if a wife has deserted her husband for another man, the actions of the two are mercilessly ridiculed; if a chief has failed to display generosity it is likewise recorded, and reference is made to errors in dance ritual. To do this is one of the functions of a *nusqwal*, and the singers are always ready to assist him. At the same time they often add a new incident to the tune belonging to some other *a'alk* dancer so that he too will be able to perform. In this way the airs are remembered from year to year, which is different from the customary Bella Coola usage.

On the morning of the day chosen, the host asks one of the [202]
singers to beat a drum repeatedly but slowly, as a signal that
a non-ceremonial dance is about to take place. About noon, [203]
heralds go from house to house announcing who is to give the dance. In the late afternoon the people gather in the donor's house where men, women, and children seat themselves without distinction of rank, the only reserved place being that for the singers behind the fire. They beat out the host's tune and he dances to it, while the singers themselves sing the words to the amusement of the audience. Using their own discretion, they then beat out the tune of another *a'alk* and he also dances, followed in succession by a third, a fourth, and as many as the singers think fit. Sometimes the songs of *susaok* are used in a similar manner. When many have danced, the host distributes food to all his guests, not forgetting to give the largest

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574 presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain
535 to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to
[533] the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds.
[525] These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the
[526] Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *sisaok*,
[178] they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alk ORIGIN MYTHS

551 Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to
575 record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both
773 ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *nusqwal* for his name *Sinxälotla* which came to earth with *Smaoan* (I, p. 332) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alk*, *Tlaiyäkam*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinuxeil* (I, p. 326), who assumed the designation of *Tlaiyäkam* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *Wi'tälao*.

539 The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,[*] long, long ago, *Ālquntäm* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Sinaaw-a*, and a mortal; so he

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[115]
[177] [*] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

he can. Several of the older people mentioned that early white 556
traders would have received more for their goods by giving 431
them away than by selling.

Even at the present time the Bella Coola sometimes carry 556
out a practice which was once common. Particularly in the
early autumn or in spring, a chief who has large supplies of 648
food may decide to show his wealth to the members of a neighbouring tribe such as the Bella Bella. Alone, or with a few [484]
friends, he goes to a foreign village where he is sure to find accommodation in the home of some friend, relative, or important chief. In the evening he invites the inhabitants of his host's village to the house in which he is staying, and uses the food he has brought with him to provide them with an elaborate meal. His guests now feel it incumbent on them to repay this generosity, and one of them asks the singers to beat out one of his songs, the Bella Bella equivalent to *sisaok*, *a'alk*, or even *kusiut*. The owner dances to it and then gives presents to the stranger to validate the performance he has just witnessed. This is repeated by everyone to whom he has given food, and although each present may be small, their total is greater than the original outlay. Sometimes a poor man, feeling himself too insignificant to give a ceremony of this kind, takes a supply of food to a foreign tribe to sell. If the hosts wish to show their generous dispositions they persuade him to give it away in the fashion just described, which always brings in more than he could obtain by sale. It is even customary for the hosts to lend such a stranger enough food for public distribution if his own stock is too small.

Although the most important Bella Coola dances are per- 533
formed at potlatches or during the *kusiut* season, they are not 535
confined to these periods. Professional singers do nothing else 574
and, except during the run of salmon when everyone is busy fishing, a dance occurs every few nights. Supernatural beings are not called down; consequently there is little solemnity and everyone has a good time. On these occasions, *kusiut* songs are first beaten out, followed by *sisaok* and *a'alk*, and the owner

533 of each song dances to it. Anyone who has enough food to
535 provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such
574 an affair, but the singers and heralds can force a stingy man
to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and
the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man
with an ample supply of food and beginning to beat out songs
[203] there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and
[622] call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is
compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean
and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the
[203] initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of
a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of
[221] salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one
[796] of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever
there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when ber-
556 ries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn
796 to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this
season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign
[221] guests, calls in his neighbours for a *sisaok* dance and initiates
[575] some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual,
described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch
[535] except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of
a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming
of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief
performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a
potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be
unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village
[426] at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with
interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in
time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his
potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during
[575] the early autumn, while in winter *kusiut* dances take place
almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-
[535] sacred variety of *a'alk* performances, and for another type of
rite, nusäxKāmx.

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rite, ***nusäxkämx̣***. This can be described here, since, although 852
not closely associated with the potlatch, it serves to teach
children the principles of present-giving and indebtedness. 867
February is the proper month for *nusäxkämx̣*, although pre- [796]
liminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A chief
who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age [556]
may decide to use some of his food, and a small part of his
wealth, for the benefit of the child. With the assistance of his
relatives, the father begins making large numbers of toy canoes,
miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all
other types of articles commonly given away at potlatches.
The manufacture of these requires several months, but to-
wards the end of January they are nearly ready.

A name must then be chosen for the child. Since a *nusäx-* 553
kämx̣ dance is a humorous, non-sacred affair, a *nusäxkämx̣* 852
name is not embodied in a myth, but is drawn from some story.
Occasionally, parents decide on a new one, but more often the 867
designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a [535]
grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to
names of this type, and one of them can be re-used without
asking consent of the last incumbent, although permission
would never be refused. There must be a song with each name
and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to 533
a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may 852
have been remembered from a previous occasion; if not, a 867
simple theme is composed by one of the old people having
some reference to the name about to be conferred. For ex-
ample, one appellation of this type is *Topiwac*, Fawn, and the [551]
accompanying words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is *Q̣plon*, Beaver, and the song: "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. The teaching of the song to the juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents are the

852 principal instructors, aided by the professional musicians.
867 Boys are always willing to act as singers for the practice they
[533] receive, and the gifts they will acquire. Other lads are chosen
to act as heralds, an effort being made in each case to pick
those likely to pursue these professions.

[796] The day finally selected for the ceremony is in February,
on a date when nothing of importance is taking place. The
juvenile heralds summon the child guests, who have been
invited in accordance with the rules governing a potlatch,
especial care being taken to omit none to whom the child donor
is indebted. His father carefully instructs him in this matter,
thus impressing on his son's mind one of the fundamental
points of Bella Coola life. In the late afternoon, when all have
[535] assembled, the boy singers beat out the donor's song and he
dances to it. It may be in the nature of a *sisaok*, *a'alk*, or
kusiut dance, according to the wishes of his parents. In many
cases, one of the grandparents or some other old relative likewise
dances to the song, using whatever style he chooses.
There is no ceremonial significance to the ceremony and all
enjoy themselves immensely, especially the adult guests. After
[553] the dancing, the new name is announced and presents are given
to the guests. The father of the young donor carefully instructs
him as to the scale of his gifts, emphasizing the necessity
of rewarding the singers and heralds, and of repaying with
interest those children from whom he has received favours. In
this way, the ceremony serves as a practical example of how to
conduct a potlatch. The parents of the donor always provide
some tasty food for the occasion, and this is distributed after
[556] the gifts have been handed round. The necessity for food and
presents makes it impossible for any but the children of chiefs
to enjoy this training.

After the ceremony, the children parade up and down the sidewalk in front of the houses, singing boisterously. The performance has been for their benefit and they wish to "show off." One night completes the affair, but the following afternoon another child may summon his comrades to a similar

ceremony. The child singers first beat out the song of the 852
present donor, then that of his predecessor, to which the latter 867
dances once again. If food is plentiful, *nusâxkâmx* ceremonies
may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or [796]
two may elapse without one. A child's song is remembered [533]
from year to year and he dances whenever it is beaten out.
The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lad's [535]
comrades. After marriage, it is considered unfitting for a [551]
youth to be concerned with *nusâxkâmx* and he normally
becomes an *a'alk*. [885]

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many
years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The [182]
main features are clear: they served to instruct children in the
methods of present-giving. According to one informant, there
were two types of *nusâxkâmx* ceremonial; one of the humorous
pattern above described in which, however, food alone
was given away, and another in which miniature presents were
distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible [556]
for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions
the themes consisted of small incidents in the family
myth. In either case, the importance of ceremonial can be
judged from the manner in which it was impressed upon mere
children.

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Next morning they found a house in readiness for them, a short distance from the bank; its name was *Nunalpānem*, and it had been created for them by *Ālquntām* who had selected this spot for their residence. It resembled other houses except that the door was in a back corner instead of in the middle of the front because bears must not approach the river, and the five still had ursine characteristics. The salmon would have been frightened if they had lived too near. The paintings on the back walls were of Kingfisher.

Chips from their firewood floated downstream to the point where *Smaoan* (I, p. 332) lived. Judging that someone was encamped above him, he set out to investigate. He met *Yoālas* and entered into conversation with him, finally asking if he, *Smaoan*, might marry *Yoālas*'s sister, *Sximāna*, "The Light-Bearer." *Yoālas* agreed, and the two were married in due course. At this ceremony a marriage song given by *Ālquntām* was first used.[44]

uyayayat and his brothers made a special kind of fish-trap, in which they caught large quantities of trout and steel-head salmon, and below them *Smaoan* and his family were also catching large quantities of salmon. The two settlements combined to give a potlatch. The brothers built an extension to the house to accommodate their guests, and when all were seated a representation of a black bear emerged from the room at the back of the house, imitating the appearance and actions of its inmates when first they arrived on this earth. The artifacts brought by *uyayayat* and his brothers from above were displayed to the guests, as has since been done on similar occasions by their descendants. At this potlatch the name *Nulpānlais* was given to *Sximāna*, having reference to the tabooed house with the rear doorway.

Yoālas once sent his kingfisher-herald up the river to discover whether or not there were people there, for at that time it was unknown country. He reported that there were, so *Yoālas* built a canoe, in the manner taught by Raven, and set off; *en route* he met the upstream settlers, who had likewise learnt the art of making canoes and were travelling downstream on an errand similar to his own.

The brothers used some of their wealth on one occasion to give a *kusiut* dance, at which they validated for *Nasqmālais* the Breaker (II, p. 123) name, *Numāxmālais*. This refers to the way in which he had flown with quivering wings when a kingfisher, and as he danced he shook his hands in imitation of this. This name had been given him by *Ālquntām*, as had also his third, *Olqālmut*, referring to his status as herald.

Smaoan and *Sximāna* had many children who formed a bond between

[582]
[424]
[533]

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[44] It has since been transmitted as a prerogative by the descendants of this couple.

I; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Bellabella NE5

to death. *[illegible]* was the most prosperous of the brothers; so much had his wealth increased that he was able to call the people from all parts of the coast to a potlatch. BC 539* BB

[illegible] had given *[illegible]* the honourable prerogative or duty of singing the mourning song whenever anyone died. When it was time for her to function she painted her face with a design representing a rough sea, and beat time on the floor with a stick, *[illegible]*, on which were jingling copper bangles. The theme was how Raven had brought her help on all occasions. 539

BC

The right to sing this song has since been preserved as a prerogative in the ancestral family descended from these four brothers. No name accompanies it, but the right must be validated by the giving of presents. [424] [533]

EARLY TRADITIONS HAVING THE CEREMONIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ORIGIN MYTHS

BC 539*

The following are examples of myths which are used as authorization for potlatches even though they do not deal with the actual peopling of this earth. It will be noted that they describe the adventures of early settlers, and only with non-Bella Coola. All are claimed to have been obtained by intermarriage with the descendants of individuals mentioned in them. BC [177]

AN EARLY [illegible] MYTH[77]

Not long after the first people had come to this earth, Raven taught an *[illegible]* chief, *[illegible]* by name, how to catch black cod with hook and line. It was summer at the time, and *[illegible]* began to make preparations for fishing early the following year. He instructed his wife to take three female assistants with her to the woods to collect a large quantity of cedar-bark for making the line, which had to be at least three hundred yards in length, owing to the depth at which black cod are found in Labouchere Channel. The four women returned four days later with a large amount of the material, on which they worked all summer and the following winter. Meanwhile *[illegible]*, with three other men to help him, was busy manufacturing hooks of the usual British Columbia type. They were made from the knots of dead and fallen hemlocks; the interior was first cut out, bent into the desired shape, smeared with mountain BB 539 BC 539*

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[77] Related by Jim Pollard.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

585 handles of the rattles"; symbolizing that they are pads to protect the hands, though the dancers derive no benefit from the pelts, which are stacked with others for later distribution to Y's family. A large amount of provisions has been prepared and placed in boxes, one for each member of Y's family. In many cases it is difficult to estimate how much food will be required, and if there is a surplus, it is eaten by the performers and other assistants.

When all are ready they rush forth; dancers, dancers' assistants, and young relatives of X, followed more sedately by his father. The rest of the villagers watch with interest, but do not take part in the ceremony. Choosing a position
[533] outside Y's house, the singers beat the time of the marriage song used by X's ancestors; if the words are known they sing
[424] them. Like the prerogative of marriage dancers, there may not be a marriage song embodied in every origin myth, but if
[426] X lacks such he is usually able to borrow one.[6] The keeper of the song is stationed near the singers, ready to help them with the words or the tune, if necessary. Meanwhile the
[535] dancers are performing on the sidewalk outside Y's house. Each uses whatever type of dance he chooses, *kusiut*, *sisaok*, *a'alk*, or even shaman's, but all dance simultaneously, though without paying greater attention to each other than is
[533] necessary to avoid collisions. The professional droners accompany the singing with their high-pitched quaver.

Meanwhile Y's father, surrounded by his relatives and friends, waits in readiness within their house. Y herself is

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[6] The repeated origin of marriage songs has been described in vol. I, chap. vi. They are less strongly preserved as prerogatives than most elements of origin myths; in fact some keepers of the songs are willing to perform at any wedding, although this may be a modern development. The keeper, either man or woman, is chosen by
[614] the senior members of the ancestral family, after discussion with the singers. It is his duty to remember text and tune, and the only pecuniary advantage is from the presents made by those to whom he teaches it. Some songs have words, others only a tune. The text of a song brought down by *Alquntam* to [illegible] is:

"Hello, [illegible]! We do as we have done before. Please make good the path for those who are about to marry."

Alquntam obtained this song from his heavenly namesake and used it at his own marriage, as his male descendants have since done.

585 to the others in succession. If Y's father is not wealthy, he may dispense with presents to the dancers, who before long cease of their own accord. When the song is finished, more strips of goat-skin are thrown in the manner already described. Then the song is sung for the third time, accompanied by the dancers who have not been "stopped" by the receipt of gifts. Again Y's father's friend brings out presents, to "stop" more of the dancers. After another disposal of goat-skin, and a fourth singing, all have been "stopped." Care is taken that at least one dancer is left to accompany the fourth singing of the song.

X's relatives now send in valuable presents to Y, her father, mother, and other relatives, and also to those who wish to associate themselves with Y's father in the marriage transaction, prompted by kindly feelings towards him, or, it may be, through a desire to display publicly their wealth and importance. The number of these individuals has been communicated secretly to X's kinsmen, who are thus able to send a present to each, such as a canoe, a slave, a marten, lynx, or goat-skin blanket, or some equally treasured object. These gifts are called "weapons of war," since the assumption is that X is acting like a warrior in taking something of value from Y's family. At the same time the goods that Y's father has given to stop the dancers are returned to him unostentatiously.

Y's father now invites X's party into his house by calling out:

"*Omap winas, omap stäläkämy,*" "Enter you war-party, enter ye chiefs."

They go into the house and sit in a group in the place of honour behind the fire. Some of the other villagers may crowd in to watch, remaining near the front door, but having no part in the proceedings. Y's father superintends a distribution of food to his guests, sometimes a lavish feast, at other times a small meal, depending on the food supply and time of year.

[533] In many cases, though not always, Y's father sings a *xe-tla* song at this juncture, emphasizing the importance of his ancestry.

In one case where an orphan woman, without relatives, 553 repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announcement 556 was made: 583

"Y's belt has come to rebuy her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had looped up her clothing with a belt when working. If Y's father should die after amassing goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y's father's anus has come to rebuy her."

The ancestral family descended from the first settlers at *Snulh-il* have the prerogative of singing a special song as they [424] rebuy one of their daughters. This was used by their first [533] ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is:

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last sentence is that the village of *Snulh-il* is farthest up the Bella Coola River. Its inhabitants [186] used to claim that the people of the other villages lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them.

After announcing the various relatives who have rebought Y, the presents are counted and carried into X's house. The statement concerning their number, who has given them, and for what purpose, is repeated to the foreign guests there assembled, and they are then piled indiscriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arrivals from a distance.

Y's relatives enter, and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y's new name is embodied is related in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, by whom it was last used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created 551
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to kill an enemy, but his success is accredited to his super- 761
natural possessions which have given him skill as a warrior 726
rather than to his own ability.

It is felt that no ordinary explanation is sufficient to ac- 761
count for the death of a great chief. No matter what may have
been the actual cause, it is always said that the supernatural 622
Carpenters, who in the beginning of time created mankind, [773]
came down and "seized" or "called back" the deceased, thinking him too good for this world. It is believed that these beings are keen hunters, and that *Ālquntām* allows them to pursue influential people. This sentiment is always expressed in [533]
mourning songs for a dead chief, but although accepted as a matter of fact, it is little more than a formalized belief which serves to comfort the mourners. The infraction of a taboo is another reason frequently given for a chief's death. It is said that there was a loud crash and the earth shook before the death of *Potlus*; he became ill immediately, and his stomach began to swell. The stricken chief said that *Sony* itself had fallen upon him, but the common belief was that he had erred in some ritual act. At any rate, he died within a few hours.

RITES FOLLOWING DEATH

News of a critical illness spreads rapidly through the village 763
and the house in which the sufferer is lying becomes a rendezvous for friends asking about his condition. Failure to do so would be considered ungracious, with the result that there is such a constant coming and going that rest is denied the sick person. Shamans are called upon to practise their powers in [756]
a noisy manner, and female relatives weep and wail. The din is indescribable.

When the patient shows no further indication of life, the shamans cease, but the women redouble their cries. Relatives, friends, and sympathizers all crowd into the house and begin to weep, often adding verbal lamentations. The progress of the news from house to house can be traced by the wailings. Mean- 764

575 but even if unaware of the fact, they realize that some supernatural, invisible visitor has arrived. [776]

Heralds go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent [203] villages as well,[1] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to [628] the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the *susaok* name of the deceased is used. The guests assemble at once, irrespective of their rank or membership in the *susaok* society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family [302] cut their hair short. The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the backroom, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a son or other near relative who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how [537] the Chief, meaning *Mulakila*, has come to visit the dead man, ● 533 and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[2] 575 A hidden *susaok* has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and 766 the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of potlatches given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon amid the booming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *susaok* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *susaok* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

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[1] The Bella Bella are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[2] Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Mulakila*, heralded by [184] whistling and a thump on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *susaok* rites.

ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the 533
ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At 575
intervals, the new song is repeated and *sısaok* members of the 766
audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Frequently
one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his [535]
stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially
of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the
actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor
of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas
only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a
young *sısaok*. If some of his female relatives are professional [767]
wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circumstances,
the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end
which it usually achieves.

As already described, *sısaok* ceremonial was in a state of 575
transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Previous 766
to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been
adopted from Rivers Inlet,[4] which has since been claimed by a 177
number of *sısaok*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony, 424
and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly [178]
loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the
slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few
years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and
that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite.

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain 575
in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which
Mulakila came and the *sısaok* songs were sung. Meanwhile 766
the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of 532
rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the
deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof
and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet.
In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor

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[4] One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own life-time from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to *Tāl·is*. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

764 grave carrying a spruce bough in his hand. He touches with
it the edge where he is standing, then, in sunwise order, the
east, south, and west margins. This circuit is repeated four
times and the branch tossed away to westward. This essential
[774] ceremony is based on a belief that the lives, or perhaps the
spirits, of the grave-diggers have been drawn from them into
the grave and are in danger of being pressed down by the
coffin. Should this occur, they would have short lives. The
spruce branch enables the supernatural elements to leave the
cavity and return to their owners who suffer no ill effects.
Anyone, other than a grave-digger, can perform this rite.

The coffin is now lifted into the grave, care being taken
that the corpse faces east. As already described, it is in a
squatting position with haunches almost on the ground.
Boards have been prepared in advance, and with these the
grave-diggers make a roof-like covering, placing at each corner
[775] a stone weighing from ten to fifteen pounds, to prevent the
ghost from returning to trouble the survivors. Earth is
thrown in on top of the boards, and as it falls the wailing
breaks out dolorously in a final crescendo of mourning.
[766] If a chief has been buried, his fellows sometimes sing a *xe·tla*
song. At this time it is proper for one or more chiefs to rise
● [533] and speak. No one is required to do so, nor is there any rule
537 as to the order in which they make their remarks. The first
764 speaker is usually a prominent man related to the survivors,
though seldom a son, brother, or other near relative of the
deceased. A speech is generally addressed in part to the
spirit of the dead person, telling it where to go; in part, to the
mourners. For a dead child, emphasis is laid on the fact that
although he did not live long enough to be incorporated into
his ancestral myths on earth, this will be done for him in his
future home. In conclusion, an appeal is often made to
[775] *Alquntām*, under the name of *Smaialotla*, to take pains that
[773] the spirit of the dead is given its rightful place in *Nusmāt·a*, in
the section where its first forbears were created, and whither
the spirits of its dead ancestors have returned since the beginning of time.

*556 769 diate family. Confusion is probable only when a chief is
bereaved after he has stored up goods and made preliminary
preparations for a potlatch; he may then carry out the rites
intended, but designate the ceremony a memorial potlatch.
[575] More often, however, the affair is limited to rites associated
with the deceased. Consequently, there is omission of the
initiation of neophytes into the *susaok* and *a'alk* societies,[33] there
is no establishment of new seats for young relatives of the
donor, and no strengthening of his own. It must be empha-
[184] sized once more that there is no unalterable sequence of prescribed
rituals at either potlatch or memorial potlatch; the
omissions just mentioned are customary, not universal, and
when present the ritual of the two ceremonies is identical.
Except on those rare occasions when omitted at a potlatch,
the return of a dead relative is the central feature of both.

[178] In recent years, the great increase in wealth has made it
possible for a chief to perform a memorial potlatch soon after
the death of an esteemed relative. This was rarely the case in
former times, but as there was no other reason for which valuables
were so ardently desired, every expedient was used to
obtain the necessary goods. Occasionally, a chief happened
to have the needful goods stored up so that he could give a
memorial potlatch almost immediately. To such a fortunate
individual the term, *yeotla*, was applied, a word difficult to
translate but combining the significances of *rich*, *ready*, *fortunate*,
and *revered*.

[796] Memorial potlatches, like those of the ordinary kind, are
usually held in the early autumn, though occasionally one may
be postponed until after the *kusiut* season. When an intending
donor has decided that he owns sufficient goods, he first calls
in his fellow-chiefs and makes known his intentions, at the
same time expounding in considerable detail the myths which
●[533] he proposes to use as themes for mourning songs, and for other

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[33] Performance of such rites at a memorial potlatch would be considered sinful by the Bella Bella and were always omitted during the period when their influence was important.

prerogatives connected with the ceremony. The actual re- 556*
counting of the myths may be done by a fluent speaker on 769
behalf of the bereaved man, and when he has finished speaking,
it is proper for several of his peers to make complimentary [533] ●
speeches, lauding the future donor for his intentions. Food is [537]
then served and the gathering breaks up.

The preliminaries of a memorial potlatch do not differ from those of an ordinary one. There is the same counting and recounting of goods, the same giving and receiving of presents, the same lending and borrowing. When at last the donor is ready, the heralds call his fellow-villagers to his house for announcement of the arrangements and allotment of the work. As at a potlatch, food is provided on a lavish scale, and there is the same sham-fight with a battering-ram ending in the destruction of part of the house. Then the carpenters receive their instructions; some to make different sections of the new structure, some to paint ancestral designs on the front and back walls, and some to make the various objects required.

The first difference between a memorial and an ordinary 211
potlatch is apparent at this allotment of work. Instead of a 556*
totem-pole to record the glories of the donor's ancestry,[33] car- 764
penters are requested to make memorial-posts for the dead 769
relative who is being commemorated. These are erected in the cemetery near the grave and are of three kinds, although it is unusual for all three to be set up for a single chief.

The first consists of a wooden post carved with the design
of one or more of the deceased's crests (see Plates 19 and 20).
These figures are usually representations of the bird or animal [532]
cloaks used by his first ancestors; it is customary to portray the one traced through the father on the right, that traced through the mother on the left. Instead of a cloak, the figure may portray the post down which swarmed his first ancestor in the beginning of time, or Mount *Nusqalst* in human form, wearing a broad-rimmed hat as he did before he turned to

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[33] Even the construction of a new house and the painting of new designs is often omitted.

*556 messengers may be marked with the same ritual as at a potlatch,
769 but there is always curtailment of *susaok* features if rites
of that nature are to be omitted.

Meanwhile other preparations have not been neglected.
424 Among the prerogatives embodied in many origin myths, is
that of the presence of professional mourners at memorial
*556 potlatches. If mention of these is made in the ancient tradition
769 of the donor's ancestral family, it is a matter of pride for
[767] him to do as was done by his ancestors in the distant past.
For example, it may be recorded that at the memorial potlatch
of some ancient chief, a number of his younger relatives appeared
with red paint smeared upon their faces, with finely
chopped undyed cedar-bark in the hair, or with bands of the
[765] same material across their heads. *Älquntäm* had decreed that
they should thus exhibit their grief, and the descendants of
the chief have since had the privilege of doing likewise. Such
signs of mourning may not, however, be worn without proper
validation. It is only the members of the ancestral family
who are entitled to don these marks, and among them, only
those whose right has been confirmed by the distribution of
presents. This is a masculine professional prerogative, known
[562] by the same name as the feminine one of uttering a droning
cry to which it is closely akin. The right is ratified at memorial
potlatches, and the donor of one is glad to do so as a means of
displaying his own wealth as well as of making plain the glory
of his ancestors to whom the one being commemorated has
returned. There is no mention of professional mourners in
[767] the myths of many families, nor are they ever as important in
[171] Bella Coola as among the Bella Bella and other tribes of the
outer coast. If such belong to the family of the donor, he
notifies the incumbents and asks them to be ready, although,
eager to act, they seldom wait for such an invitation.

●533 The most difficult task is the preparation of mourning songs
*556 at which the singers toil for several weeks. The donor first
invites them to his house and recounts the myths from which
769 they must be composed. These may include several traditions

of different ancestral families to which the deceased belonged, 533 irrespective of whether or not he had used a name from one. 556* Being a member of the group, its songs can legally be used in 769 his honour. Elements from different myths are often combined into one composition, corresponding to the different localities and characters which the dead person has visited in travelling back the path of his multiple ancestors to the beginning of time. If one person only is being commemorated, four songs are prepared; if several, two are used for each. Three [801] for any individual is unlucky. Two types, *skwanät* and *änultunänk*, are in common usage, and the singers, after conversation with the donor of the ceremony, decide which shall be employed. The former describes in some detail features from one or more of the deceased's ancestral myths, mentions the journey which he has taken to visit the individuals and scenes referred to, and calls on him to assume the form of his first forefather. A common theme is to state the origin of his name, and how he loved it so greatly that he left the earth to follow it back through time and space. The following is an abbreviated version of such a song, based on the origin myth of *Kāliākus*:

"We have been unable to satisfy you here. Go whither *Kāliākus* came, and become a raven. Go to the east and get abalone-shell; go to the west and get copper. They will satisfy you."

Another *skwanät* of the same type is:

"Your first ancestor circled the world with the aid of an abalone-shell paddle. Do you likewise. That will gratify you as nothing on earth could do."

On the other hand, an *änultunänk* seldom refers to the ancestral history of the deceased, but to his actions during life. It records the number of slaves, canoes, and other valuables given away at potlatches,[18] and alludes to other praiseworthy actions. This type of mourning song, though usually used [622]

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[18] An analogous method of making known a man's distribution of wealth is by a written sign over his door (see Plate 24).

533 only for a chief, can be employed for a dead child. In this case,
*556 the theme describes the efforts of the parents to incorporate
769 the deceased in the traditions of their ancestors, and the
number of times he had been ceremonially married. The text
[622] of one used a few years ago is:

"We said, Hail! *Sınxälotla* [the child's crest was the Sun] when she was born. What more could we have done? Why did she leave us?"

The text may refer to the prerogative of employing mourners, as in the following:

"Come ye professional mourners, help me to give voice to my lamentations."

The tunes of mourning songs are usually remembered from
year to year, and the singers may merely alter words to make
an old song applicable. In some cases, such compositions are
[424] changed so slightly that they become virtually possessions of
an ancestral family, and may then be preserved for generations
until even the history of the names embodied is forgotten.
[174] Occasionally, ancient relationship between two such groups
can be deduced from the occurrence of the same names in their
mourning songs, although all traditions of intermarriage have
been forgotten. There is considerable difference between the
tunes of *skwanät* and *änultınänk*; in fact, this distinction may
be more important than the themes, since the latter do not
invariably conform to the types just described. A few items
of ancestral history may be incorporated into a song dealing
primarily with the actions of the deceased and *vice versa*. Sometimes four of one type are used, sometimes two of each. Much
thought is devoted to the compositions, the singers meeting
every day to try over and improve one another's efforts. The
texts, long and complicated, require much practice, since any
error would be an admission of gross inefficiency. These daily
rehearsals take place in the donor's house and he is required
to provide food for the singers. It is not uncommon to use a
[177] song of Bella Bella origin, since the Bella Coola admit that
members of that tribe excel in compositions of this type.

Such an adoption occurs only when the deceased was the 556*
owner of a Bella Bella myth and the song in question had been 769
used to mourn a real or fictitious relative. It is contrary to
custom to use the tune or words of a song not composed for a [533]
member of the deceased's ancestral family.

The actual delivering of invitations by the envoys to the [177]
desired guests does not differ from the manner already described, [203]
except that they are asked "to come to visit the sick [donor]." The significance is, of course, that the mourner's condition is that of a patient. To indicate the reason of their visit, guests [292]
at a memorial potlatch always wear a little dyed cedar-bark around their heads.

On arrival, the first party of foreign guests is conducted to the donor's house, where they make themselves comfortable in the section allotted to them by the heralds. An elderly 537
Bella Coola chief who is a famous orator has been asked by
the donor to speak, and he rises to do so as soon as his fellow- 556*
villagers have entered and taken their places. No set phrases 769
are used, but the speaker usually begins by reminding all present of the way in which their ancestors were created in ***Nusmät·a***, and how all must return thither. It is an occasion on which eloquence is essential, and the speaker delights in using as many archaic words and rhetorical expressions as possible, with constant references to religious beliefs and ancient history as recorded in mythology. Then he speaks of the death which is the occasion of the ceremony. If the deceased were [195]
an old man, he is referred to by a special term not in common usage, *nudak·än*, which implies wisdom and respect as well as extreme age. The orator states that he has fallen, using the term *ṗoyäx̣*, normally applied to the thunderous crash of some mighty tree. He speaks of a young chief as *sxwᵘłłämkis*, short-lived, a person who has been hunted down by the supernatural Carpenters. He continues by sketching the works of the deceased, the number of potlatches he gave and the manner in which his name was known to many tribes. Finally he tells of the donor's grief, and of how this "sickness" has been alle-

537 *556 769 [622] viated by the presence of welcome guests. Mention is frequently made of the journey taken by the dead man to the scenes of his ancestral myths. In addition to being an orator, the speaker must also be a *numitl* chief, since it is felt that none other can have the necessary assurance and poise to refer to these most sacred and important subjects. During the speech, assistants blow eagle down over the heads of all present.

[264] Food has been prepared in advance, and as soon as the speaker has finished, the heralds call the guests to partake of it. The first course is then distributed, smoked salmon mixed with olachen grease. Speeches are sometimes delivered during this part of the meal, as well as at the second course, cranberries with more olachen grease. If the guests have arrived during the afternoon, there is no delay between the feast and the ritual that follows, but if they have come during the morning, there is a gap until the evening. Visitors usually time their arrival for the early part of the afternoon.

537 *556 769 609 •533 The next event is a speech from one of the foreign chiefs, phrased in grandiloquent terms similar to those used by the Bella Coola orator. He speaks of the manner in which the supernatural Carpenters have hunted the deceased, but reminds his hearers that this is because *Älquntäm* has decreed it, therefore all must be for the best. He refers to the dead man's crest, and to the manner in which this guise will be available to him. During the day, the singers have been careful to learn the tune of a mourning song used by the ancestral family of each foreign chief likely to speak. This they now beat out, often assisted by some of the guests, and always accompanied by their singing. No one dances to accompany the song; it is merely a tactful mark of sympathy, implying that the speaker himself knows the grief occasioned by death, and, also, that he too is sufficiently important to be able to use a mourning song. If, as is usually the case, there is more than one influential chief in the party, a second rises to speak, repeating in different terms the sentiments expressed by his predecessor. Another

mourning song is sung for him in the same way. Sometimes 537
as many as five or six speeches are made, each followed by a 556*
song of the same type. In such circumstances it is impossible
for the Bella Coola musicians to learn all the tunes, but if five 769
or six chiefs are present, it implies the presence of a large 609
delegation among whom are always a number of singers. It is
they who really beat out the tunes, assisted by their Bella 533
Coola *confrères*. When the last song has been sung, the guests present their hosts with gifts brought for the purpose. The donor himself receives the most valuable, but all the Bella Coola are remembered, chiefs to a greater extent than commoners. Such gifts are not to be returned; in fact, to do so specifically, especially soon after the receipt, would be insulting. After the distribution the evening concludes with the usual meal.

This ritual is repeated at the arrival of every group of guests. It is uncertain whether or not all the mourning songs are again beaten out after the song of the final speaker of the last group. This seems to have been done occasionally, and the distribution of presents by the guests likewise postponed. Just before the gathering breaks up, the heralds call out:

"*Alnaixwotsnumap.*"

This serves as intimation that the Bella Coola rites will 556*
take place the following morning, and the guests prepare 769
accordingly. Occasionally, when a man is poor, a memorial
potlatch is held without the presence of foreign guests.[16] In [609]
such cases the preliminaries just described are, of course, omitted and the above call marks the commencement of the ceremony.

The next day the guests gather in the donor's house, clad in their best. The mourners are in attendance, each conspicuous with the proper mark. In many cases several of them carry miniature totem-poles, carved to represent bird or animal cloaks assumed by the donor's ancestors, and which

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[16] This was probably quite common during the period when all potlatch features were omitted.

* 556 769 will now be the forms of the one who has recently died. As soon as all have taken their places, an eloquent chief whose aid has been requested for the purpose stands up and recounts [537] the donor's ancestral myth in some detail, mentioning the source and meaning of the mourners' marks and the designs of the totem-poles. Then he continues to the effect that the chief will "cry" by relating the history of his ancestors, which is also the history of the journey taken by his kinsman, and that [195] this recital will shore him up. The word used for this, *snutɩłănkɩn*, is the one commonly employed for raising a heavy burden with the aid of a lever. Then the singers begin to beat ● [533] out the first of the mourning songs, accompanying it with their voices and assisted by as many of the audience as are familiar with words and tune. Every effort is made to make the singing as impressive as possible to add dignity to the recital of the journey taken by the person who is being commemorated. The guests listen attentively and are suitably impressed by the ancestral history of the donor and his family. All the songs that have been prepared are sung in succession in the same [535] manner. The lack of dancing distinguishes this type of ceremony[1] from all others and adds somewhat to its impressiveness.

After the last song is the proper time for validating young [424] [425] relatives of the donor as mourners. One of the miniature totem-poles, which are light enough to be carried in the hands, is brought from the back-room and given to the boy on whom this prerogative is being conferred. An eloquent speaker explains the meanings of the designs so displayed and enough of the family's ancestral history to make clear whence, and how, they were obtained. The singers begin to beat time slowly, and the youth endeavours to keep time with his feet, while he continues to hold the pole.

Meanwhile the donor and his immediate relatives have been arranging the piles of presents with the inevitable counting and [537] re-counting. As at a potlatch, a fluent speaker is commissioned to hold up the objects, state whence they have been obtained,

[1] [i.e. - the memorial potlatch - ANALYST]

to whom they are going, and for what purpose. He says, for 556 * example:

"Fifty skins become nothing on the path of *Käliäkʊs*." 769

Everyone knows that this means the expenditure of that amount for the singing of a mourning song in connection with [533] ● the myth in which *Käliäkʊs* appears. Gifts must be given for each song, and it is the desire of the donor that they be of fitting value. So, too, is the validation of professional mourners confirmed. [425] The goods having thus been displayed, a first distribution, called "Tears" with reference to the donor's grief, is made, each guest receiving a gift of the same worth. It is not returnable, being the legalization of the ceremony he has just witnessed. This is followed by donations to the carpenters, the singers, the professional mourners, and all others who have [465] rendered assistance; in essence, these are pay, though they are always referred to as free-will gifts made in gratitude for services rendered. Like the last, they are not returnable. Finally, any goods remaining from the store that has been brought out are given to chiefs and other influential members of the audience. Though not clearly stated, the recipients know that these are really investment-presents; when they reciprocate, [426] they mention that they are repaying a gift made at a memorial potlatch. A plentiful meal is now served, during which several chiefs make complimentary speeches, and the gathering breaks up.

In former times, when features of the ordinary potlatch were banned from a memorial potlatch, the ceremony just described was the central point of the proceedings. It was this public song-recital of the journey taken by his deceased relative which alleviated the donor's sorrow and filled him with pride. A few days after, in the late afternoon, the heralds called back the guests and the songs were sung and re-sung. [533] Miniature totem-poles were not used, nor were professional mourners in evidence; the sole function of the gathering was to provide opportunity for learning the songs. They were repeated until far into the night, when a large meal was served and the guests

556 departed. A few days later the same ritual was carried out
769 again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often
done at intervals of two or three days for several weeks, depending on how much food the donor was prepared to use.
The amount required was so great that the rite was considered,
in some ways, more difficult than a potlatch.

[178] As already mentioned, however, it became customary in
the last century to incorporate features of the ordinary potlatch into one of a memorial nature. In such cases the first
[533] singing of the mourning songs with display of marks by the
professional mourners is as just recorded, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen once more to the songs.
Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ordinary
potlatch as already described (I, p. 182). An occasion is found
to conduct the guests to the memorial-posts erected, and to in-
[178] form them of the significance of the designs depicted. This
same practice has been continued since the introduction of
tombstones, and the meaning of the writing upon them is interpreted. The entry of the deceased in the form of his crest, and
the subsequent use of a copper, is the same as already recorded.
This is frequently followed by the singing of a *susaok* mourning
[533] song if one of the near relatives owns this prerogative of foreign
origin. If so, he walks slowly around the fire in a wide circle,
shaking his rattle, and singing, unaccompanied. Most, if not all
[177] of these songs, are in the Bella Bella language and the right to
[425] use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage
with a member of that tribe. At intervals, heralds call out:

"Listen to the chief's lament."[17]

When presents are distributed to validate the whole ceremony, mention is always made of the different features for
which they are given. As at a potlatch, the most important
is the return of the dead, but at a memorial potlatch another
[211] essential is the display of the memorial-posts. These have been
[764] carved, painted, and set up, but are worthless unless validated

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[17] There is no reason why this should not take place at a potlatch, but no instance of its performance was noted.

of Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, three of her crests of which 764
the masks were available. They agreed that Timothy Snow[20] 769
was the best carpenter available and that he should be commissioned
to put them in shape and arrange their use. Reuben 556*
wanted to sing a *susaok* mourning song, to which he had a prerogative 159
derived from his Bella Bella mother, and it was also [533]
decided that the band[21] should play. Reuben informed his
father that he would contribute $60 towards the expenditure.

Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by female friends, clad 764
in her best clothing, and laid in her coffin. This was a rough
box, contributed by the manager of the cannery and shaped 159
like a white man's coffin. At intervals, women came near and wailed dolorously without heeding others similarly engaged.
The news was carried to all the Bella Coola, those men who [203]
owned gasoline launches taking the word to the logging-camps
without being requested to do so. A Carrier Indian who happened to be returning from the cannery spread the word through the village, where each woman who received the message hurried off to some friend, with whom she began to wail.

Early on the following morning, Captain Schooner returned home with his wife, Jessie's stepmother. He had been crying and was sad, but seemed willing to talk. He spoke of the
proposed memorial potlatch, and expressed the sentiments [769]
recorded on vol. I, p. 473. He was grave and dignified, absolutely determined to perform what he considered to be the necessary ritual, oblivious of consequences, and heedless of what
he held to be an unjust law. During that summer, Captain [273]
Schooner had been a rather heavy drinker, but on this occasion
he abstained from wine, and said that he hoped no one would show disrespect to his daughter by appearing in a drunken condition either at the funeral or the subsequent rites. It is

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[20] He was not closely related to the Schooners.

[21] Most of the younger Bella Coola were members of the band, performing white
man's music on white man's instruments. Andy Schooner was bandmaster, but [178]
it is unlikely that this influenced the decision, since the performance of the band
was customary at funerals when the writer was in Bella Coola.

764 159 Meanwhile the rest of the population was sitting near the coffin. They wore no special dress or other mark of grief. Samuel King and some of his relatives had brought bundles containing Jessie's clothing, pots, pans, and other personal possessions, which they set down near the coffin. About two [533] [177] o'clock the band gathered and began to play, the favourite selection being "Annie Laurie." This went on for some time after the return of the chiefs from Captain Schooner's house. They had decided that *Tāl·io* Jenny, one of Captain Schooner's distant relatives, should carry the fire in front of the body. When all was ready she lit a bundle of rags, placed it in a pot, and set off for the cemetery, followed by all in a straggling and orderless procession. Some strong young men bore the coffin, for Jessie must have weighed over two hundred pounds; some brought tools for digging the grave; others took the bundles of clothing. There was no fixed allotment of tasks; a man or woman carried anything or nothing according to his or her wish.

The cemetery is situated about fifty yards behind the old village of *Q̇omqo·ts*. The heavy timber has all been cut away and second growth has sprung up everywhere except around the newer graves. Captain Schooner had decided that his daughter should be buried near several of her relatives, and it was to this spot that Jenny led the procession. She set the pot down near the site of the grave, and the coffin likewise was placed on the ground nearby. Captain Schooner, Jim Pollard, and a few of the other old men chose the exact situation and a number of the young men began to dig. Jenny, and other women, added pieces of Jessie's clothing to the fire so that a constant small blaze was kept up. As the grave was being dug [533] the band performed at intervals, while the women sat wailing near the fire. Other men and women were seated on the ground or walking around idly near the grave, talking but [852] seldom laughing, while the Carriers were a little farther away. Children were playing around. The grave was dug about five feet deep, in shape corresponding to the coffin, but orientation

was not carefully observed. Those wishing to dig took turns 764
with the tools; there was no supervision, and no orders given. 159
When the grave was ready, Jim Pollard asked Judas to perform
the rite with the spruce bough, which he did with a branch
brought by one of the youths. The young men lowered the [533]
coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The
missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which [797]
he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from old
houses near-by, sawed them to the size of the grave and laid
them over the coffin as a cover. At this juncture Judas, one of 764
the oldest and most conservative of the Bella Coola, rose to 159
speak. First he offered consolation to the mourning relatives 537
by pointing out that all must travel the same road. Then he
spoke to Jessie, telling her not to linger, but to travel back the
path of her ancestors from generation to generation until she
reached the place where they first came down from above, and
thence to ascend to *Nusmāt·a*. It was impossible to obtain a
literal translation of the speech, which was punctuated by calls
of "*Ye··*" from the male Bella Coola. The next speaker was
Jim Pollard, the most influential Kimsquit and a personal
friend, though not a relative, of Captain Schooner's.

"Go," he said to the dead woman, "Go to the localities from which came your first forefathers in the beginning of time. There you will find your most valuable ancestral possessions. Go at once, do not linger and lose yourself on the road from generation to generation."

Turning to George Nelson, he went on, "Do not be downhearted, all of us must travel the same road. It was made by no man, it is the work of *Ālquntām*."

Looking back once more to the grave, he said, "In *Q̣omqo·ts* are buried many illustrious relatives of yours. You will be among friends, whereas we are left to lament your departure."

It was impossible to write down the words at the time and [126]
the above record is not literally correct, although it expresses
the gist of the speech.

Captain Schooner whispered to Robert Hood, another of the 764
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556*

764 older Bella Coola, asking him to announce that he, Schooner,
159 with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch
that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a herald
[203] but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified
[769] heralds. Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the
*[556] people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their
attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a
[852] funeral, and the hilariousness that characterizes so many
Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absent except among the
playing children. By 4.30 P.M. all had left the scene.

769 In view of the large number of guests expected it had been
decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-
*556 fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the
[344] white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging
[354] gasoline lamps. This is a large, rectangular building, undivided
by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other.
[533] About 6.30 P.M. the singers, Nebuchadnezzar, Jim Pollard,
Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimsquit Alec, and Robert Hood,
gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage.
Billy Pollard had prepared a mourning song during the day,
Kimsquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others
that were well known to all. The singers sat and practised
these four for some time, while at intervals various Bella Coola
strolled in, listened for a few minutes, then walked out again.
Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of
the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought
264 $10 worth of rice, raisins, and condensed milk which he placed
769 beside a huge iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim To-
*556 Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to
act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 P.M. the people began to assemble, bringing their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay and chatter, the guests took their places in the hall, seating themselves regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two side walls and massed at the rear. By mutual consent a portion of the single row of benches along the left wall was reserved

969 were taken by one of the younger men to Captain Schooner,
who accepted them without showing either gratitude or the
556 reverse; this return was a matter that concerned the Williams
family, not the Schooners. After a short delay, Billy Pollard
moved over to the group and spoke to Joe and Willie Mack,
[589] to whom he gave $10. The latter stated that this sum, which
he held up, and a horse, which was not produced, were being
given to George Nelson to rebuy his (divorced) wife. Billy
is not related to the woman, but had long been friendly and
wished to share in making good the path for her children.
This matter had not been previously broached. The choice of
[537] Willie Mack as announcer was made merely because he was a
fluent speaker and, as a chief, had the necessary self-confidence
to act fittingly.

969 After these preliminaries, the main rite was begun. Jim
556 Pollard, an eloquent chief unrelated to any of the principals,
spoke at some length describing the journey taken by Jessie
537 to visit the scenes of her ancestral myths. He was followed
by a Bella Bella chief who happened to be in Bella Coola at the
time. In the Chinook jargon he first expressed his sympathy
and respect for Captain Schooner because he was carrying
out the fitting rites, then asked leave to speak in Bella Bella
because he found it difficult to express himself in Chinook. He
described the journey which the deceased had taken owing to
her membership in the ancestral family of her mother, a Bella
Bella woman. No one paid much attention to the speeches;
in fact, it was impossible at the back of the hall to hear what
was said owing to the chattering and crying of children.

969 After considerable delay, the singers decided it was time to
556 sing the first mourning song. It had never before been used,
533 although the composer, Billy Pollard, had prepared it several
years earlier and had merely altered the words during the
morning after consulting Captain Schooner about his ancestral
myths. The singers had learnt text and tune during the rehearsal
a few hours before. It was impossible to record it in
detail; in outline, it consisted of the words:

"Child, you are an eagle now. You are like *Xemcua.*[illegible] He will provide an eagle cloak for you." 769 556* 533 ●

The theme was continued throughout as if Captain Schooner were speaking and lamenting his daughter. At intervals the phrase was repeated, "My child has fled home.". The leader of the singers, Jim Pollard in this case, kept calling out to the audience to cry and sing, and as many of them joined in as had come in earlier to listen to the words. The whole effect was strikingly dignified and impressive.

Captain Schooner joined the singers for the second mourning song, since he alone was familiar with the details of the ancestral myth which formed the theme. In former times a bereaved parent would never have been obliged to assist in this way. Kimsquit Alec had composed the tune during the day and Billy Pollard called out the words, line by line, inviting the guests to join in. The theme consisted of instructions to Jessie: [778]

"Go," it ran, "To the mountain whither *Sqil*[illegible] came. Thence travel to the Skeena where you will assume the form of a whale and be able to spout like one.[illegible] Go then to the far north where you will enter the copper house within which dwells a copper raven and where the salmon are *taitaimg*."[illegible]

This song was sung in the manner already described.

The third mourning song was one composed for a *Tāl·io* chief, *Smaourak*, who had lost his daughter during the smallpox epidemic. Its use was justifiable, as *Smaourak* was Jessie's mother's mother's mother's brother. It had a double significance since the dead woman's mother had allowed it to be used when lamenting the death of a brother of Samuel King, a member of the same ancestral family. Captain Schooner had altered the words to make them applicable to the present situation. The theme was:

[illegible] One of the first settlers of the earth, an ancestor of Jessie.

[illegible] Another of her first ancestors.

[illegible] One of Jessie's first ancestors had landed on the Skeena and there assumed the form and characteristics of a whale.

[illegible] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

769 "Please stop crying. We have made good your memory. +556 You are a light to your brother. Go to *Smaoexek* where he stands among the abalone-shells far to the south.[illegible] Thence go ●533 overland to Rivers Inlet where a *skämtsk* will serve as canoe for you.[illegible] You will see the long house where your ancestor obtained shaman's power."[illegible]

Meanwhile Reuben Schooner had been out of sight behind the curtain of the stage. After a short interval, he emerged [292] wearing a blue blanket decorated with mother-of-pearl buttons sewn on in raven design. He was followed by two other influential members of the *susaok* society, Alexander Clallaman and Nebuchadnezzar, similarly attired. Reuben began to sing in a low, sad, penetrating voice of considerable musical power and, followed by the other two, walked slowly in a sunwise circle around the hall, all the time shaking his right hand, held projecting outwards at right angles from his elbow. The song was in Bella Bella, and even the singer did not fully understand the meaning, and few of the audience had any idea of its significance. When the three had almost completed the first circuit, someone brought Reuben a rattle, which he clutched in his right hand as he continued his way. The reason of the shaking at once became evident; he should have had a rattle through- [178] out but few of these were left in Bella Coola at the time and it had not been possible to borrow one before beginning his song. Again the three slowly circled the hall, Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar calling out at intervals:

"Listen to the mourning song of the chief."

After the second circuit of the hall, Reuben paused near the singers and spoke to Alec Davis, a *susaok siki*. The latter [424] rose and stated how the prerogative of *siki*, including the right to sing, unaccompanied, a mourning song on occasions such as this had been transmitted both to Reuben and his brother Harry from *Ao·sti*, a Bella Bella chief to whom they were

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[illegible] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[illegible] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[illegible] An incident in one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

related through their mother. After a little further discussion, 769
Harry took the rattle from his brother and began to sing as he 556*
walked around the hall, followed by Alexander and Nebu- 533 ●
chadnezzar. Harry was less familiar than his brother with
the proper words, but supplied this deficiency by humming. [424]
He was also less at ease, and he lacked the musical ability which had made his brother's singing so impressive. After a single circuit, he restored the rattle to Reuben, who continued to go around the hall as he sang. This time he paused at intervals, and kept glancing towards the door, his whole attitude betraying that something was interfering with the previously arranged plans. The purpose of the singing was to summon the dead woman in the form of her crest, but she did not appear. In early times those who were not *sisaok* were told that the words and music penetrated to the upper regions,
reminding the deceased of the grief of his relatives and per- [178]
suading him to return. This belief had passed away at the
time of the ceremony here described, but the fiction was continued, and it had been planned that the representation of
the deceased should enter when the song was finished. It later [609]
transpired that the delay was due to a number of white people who, having gathered at the doorway, made the performer unwilling to put on his masks and disguise. Reuben continued to sing half-heartedly, and finally cried out:

"Perhaps I have lost my power, it does not come."

Alec Davis, who had previously left the hall, came rushing in and called out in a loud voice:

"*Qomotla* [Jessie's ancestral name and the one in connection with which she had been made a chief] is coming. She has been to the scenes of her ancestral myths. Her crests have taken her. She comes as Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, bearing her grandchild."[10]

The speaker is a morose, rather surly individual, usually 769
undignified and often drunk, but on this occasion his manner 556*
had changed in a remarkable degree. His eyes were bright, his

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[10] Although not yet dead, all hope had been abandoned for the child's recovery.

769
*556 ential *susaok*. In former times it is certain that objections
would have been raised to this breach of ceremonial privilege.

[424] There was a pause for several minutes after the withdrawal
[178] of the figure. Then Reuben threw a copper on the floor in the
[575] track taken by the actor "to make bone for the dead woman."
[622] A number of chiefs went forward to join the singers and discuss
whether or not the copper should be redeemed. No one wished
to do so, so Captain Schooner said he would have it fastened
to a post over Jessie's grave, a proposition to which all agreed.

769 After interminable discussion in which Captain Schooner,
Nebuchadnezzar, Reuben Schooner, Jim Pollard, and Alec
*556 Davis took the principal parts, it was decided to sing the fourth
● 533 mourning song at this point. There was no reason why this
should not have been done at the customary time, after the
other three, but wide latitude in detail was allowed in this
[178] ceremony; in fact, exact ritual never flourished in Bella Coola
and has become increasingly rare in recent years. This song
had been composed a number of years previously when Captain
Schooner had called in the Bella Bella to a memorial potlatch,
and great care had been expended on its composition owing to
the skill of the guests in songs of this type. The words, altered
to fit the circumstances, were phrased as if George and Dan
were lamenting the loss of their mother and other relatives.

"I, we," they ran, "are thinking of our mother, our brothers, our sisters, our mother's brothers, our mother's sisters, our father's brothers, our father's sisters, of all our dead relatives. Please, ye chiefs from abroad, turn your heads, listen to our wail. You revered great ones, let us all cry together. It is we who have called you hither; look upon us."

This song was sung in the manner already described, except that more of the Bella Coola were familiar with the words and tune and could accordingly join in.

769 Meanwhile Captain Schooner, with his sons Reuben and
Harry and his grandsons George Nelson and Andy Schooner,
*556 had been crouching in a corner of the hall, poring over the
money which was to be distributed to validate the ceremony,

775 one of the several crests which it is believed he has become.
The point does not appear important to the Bella Coola, corresponding
to their indefinite ideas concerning whether the
spirit and the life have become a single being, or several.

Knowledge of the life led in *Nusmāt·a* by the deceased, now
in the form of his crest,[42] is most indefinite. In a general way
it is felt that the actions of this being are similar to those carried
on during life, but in a more advanced degree. A skilled carpenter
is a better carpenter in the land above, a chief who has
given many potlatches below can give more in *Nusmāt·a*. This
[533] belief finds expression in mourning songs which frequently state
how *Älquntäm* has called a good carpenter to work above, or
how a chief has gone to exhibit his generosity in a new sphere.
It is doubtful whether this sentiment plays any real part in
Bella Coola thought. The spirit and the life of a dead person
have gone too far away to affect the living; what little is known
of their actions has been handed down from the distant past
and is merely a matter of history. The only time that these
775 two merged elements come to this world is at a memorial potlatch,
769 and formerly the uninitiated undoubtedly believed that
556 they were witnessing such a visit. Though the spectators were
shown as a matter of course that the spirit and the life had
become bird or animal, emphasis was laid on the fact that they
had become the *particular* bird or animal crest of the donor's
ancestral family. The effect of the memorial potlatch in former
times, as at present, was, therefore, social rather than religious.
Besides, the two parts portrayed have never been known
775 to affect a human being; they expect no offerings, grant no
assistance, cause no injury, and are accordingly neglected.

In comparison with the above vague beliefs, Bella Coola
information concerning ghosts is clear and exact. As already

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[773] [42] It is accepted that men were created as human beings, and only assumed bird or animal shapes in order to reach the earth, but there is no corresponding belief that the spirit and the life change back from crest to human form on arrival above. Of course the performance of human activities by zoomorphic creatures presents no difficulties to Bella Coola thought.

* 756 they hear? In this case, for example, a reliable woman asserted
* 787 that she had heard two, though she had since forgotten them
as they had no social significance. Bella Coola shaman songs
● [533] are of a simple type, with few words,[4] and with tunes of no great difficulty, all closely akin to one pattern. Hence they could easily be invented by anyone. A person who recovers from a severe illness is expected, both by others and by himself, to have had such an experience, consequently it is easy for him to interpret the confused thoughts of a sickness as a visitation from a supernatural being. Thus it seems probable that a shaman deludes himself as well as others with regard to the songs.

* 787 A certain man had a similar experience, when he too heard *Ṫłitcäplilän·a* without actually seeing her. He was in a canoe at the time, near the point between North Bentinck Arm and Labouchere Channel, and distinctly heard her whistle, accompanied by four beats on a drum.
[763] This may have been an omen, as his sister died soon afterwards. Occasionally, *Ṫłitcäplilän·a* appears in dreams and gives information, as she did to this man's mother, instructing her to brush her body with spruce boughs to avoid smallpox. She followed this advice and both she and her husband escaped unscathed from the epidemic.

* 756 A shaman who died about 1902 received his power in the following manner.

* 787 He had been spearing cohoe salmon in the Bella Coola River one autumn when one of the fish crumbled to skin in his hands as he removed it from the water. From this event some mysterious malady entered his body; no one could cure him, and by December he had wasted away to a walking skeleton. Then, one morning, he heard whistling which he was sure must be the voice of *Ṫłitcäplilän·a*. He wisely said nothing about this, nor was it heard by anyone else. The same sound was repeated on the next two mornings, and on the fourth she appeared.

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[4] Sometimes with none at all, merely a confused humming which is regarded as a tune. Examples of these songs are given later (II, p. 299).

"I am *Ānolx̣ımdimut*," she said. "Everyone calls on me to visit the sick, and henceforth they will likewise seek you and your basin." 756* 787*

Something entered his stomach, causing it to heave violently, and he felt that the sickness had left him. He sent for the singers and repeated to them the words that *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* had chanted; these formed the text of the shaman's song which he used on future occasions. While giving them to the singers, he endeavoured to dance, but was too feeble to do more than weakly shake his hands. From that time on, *Ānolx̣ımdimut* was able to cure the sick.

This last account is typical. *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* appears, inserts something into the body of the patient to cure him, sings one [553] or more songs, gives the sufferer a name, and then vanishes. The curing power thus bestowed remains within the person benefited; it is this that enables him to heal others if *Ṫlitcāplilān·a* has so decided. In such cases, there is mention of a "basin" in the song, and the one who has just recovered will be able to treat others, especially those suffering from the same [755] malady as himself. The reference to a basin is because such utensils are used during treatments. To the Bella Coola a shaman is one who has had such an experience and has publicly claimed it, whether or not he can cure the sick.

Ṫlitcāplilān·a is known by many names, in accordance with [776] her ability to treat many diseases, and the designation she bestows depends upon the malady cured. [553] The following are some of the names received from her by shamans.

Sexsexq̣walx̣elaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breath." [551] This name was given to a person who was cured when he found breathing very difficult. The text of his song was:

"*Ṫlitcāplilān·a* gave me (the name) *Sexsexq̣walx̣elaoslaix* [533] with a small object to aid the breathing of the very sick."

Tāmtāmslo·psta. This has the same significance as the last. [551]

Nexnāx·mālosaix, "The Dancer Near the Fire."

Ānolx̣ımdimut, "The Dancer Who Makes Noise Only with

Ninitsamlaix, "The Restorer." He is able to cure the sick 756*
even when at the point of death.

Ănuskieknım, "The Saviour." He can rescue persons who 776
have been injured by other supernatural beings. 787*

Nunutsnımıkmem, "The One Who is Thought Of." Having powerful curing abilities, people think of him when ill.

Ănotäbäkmots, "The Open-Mouthed One." His mouth is always open to suck forth sickness.

Nusłkäkstämidjut, "He Whose Basin Is in His Own Body." A person who receives the ability to cure from this being does not use the customary basin.

Sısiutł. It is said that many Rivers Inlet shamans have 756*
received their powers from this creature, which is accordingly
well known to the Bella Coola in this connection, although few 787*
of their own people are said to have been benefited by it.

Since all animals are supernatural, it follows that any of
them can cure the sick. Instances are remembered of this, in
which the patient received a name differing slightly from that
of his animal benefactor. Salmon, especially cohoes and early
spring salmon, are extremely potent curers and many sick [825]
people have received aid from them. It is recognized that the
former are uncanny since they have the ability to hide themselves in insignificant streams. One man was cured by a tree [533]
which gave him a yodel-like shaman's song, imitating the
creaking and waving of its branches. More often, however, a
supernatural animal merely speaks to a man without making
him a shaman.

Two courses are open to the patient who has been cured
by such a visitation. He may at once proclaim his powers, or
he may say nothing about them in the hope of obtaining further
revelations and further names. From a single experience he
has received a certain amount of power, but the more he has,
the greater this will be. If he decides not to wait, he at once
calls the singers and repeats to them the words and tunes of
the songs he has received. When later on he gives presents to [553]
validate his shamanistic name, it becomes publicly recognized [556]

755 not do so, he would cease to be a shaman, and the ability would
*756 pass to the cured person.

(3) In more difficult cases the shaman uses his basin and
seeks assistance from others by a frenzied beating of sticks.
He sends some young man out to fill the receptacle at the river,
sets it near the patient, and throws water over him as he kneads
in the manner already described. While this is going on, and
•533 it is often a lengthy performance, another shaman, or someone
535 accustomed to lead the singers, ranges the bystanders into two
755 rows, facing each other between the door and the central fire.
Each is provided with a beating stick such as the singers use, and a sounding-board is placed before each row. The clever dancer who has been commissioned to lead the orchestra of stick-beaters stands near the door and the musicians take their time from his movements. First he slowly raises both arms and all beat time softly, then, as he lifts his arms higher, the noise increases, and he sways from side to side as if carried away by the music; as he does so the men towards whom he leans intensify their beating, while those on the other side decrease. Back and forth he sways followed by the beating; nearing the climax he treads mincingly, whereat the noise rises to thunder-pitch, then jumps twice, and as he strikes the ground the drums beat and all the sticks come down with a final ear-splitting crash. Throughout the whole the women drone *i*.......... This elaborate beating of time is repeated four times, on each occasion concluding with the double jump which calls forth the double thunder of drums and sticks.

755 Meanwhile the functioning shaman is gurgling and chat-
*756 tering through half-closed lips, and at intervals the leader, or
any stick-beater, shouts *hoip*, a call which is supposed to soothe the supernatural beings. The din is tremendous. No explanation could be found of the meaning of this noise.

"It has always been done," say the Bella Coola, and they theorize no further.

At last the shaman rises from the sick person, holding his hands carefully cupped together as if he held something within

type of dance differs from all other Bella Coola ones, since no 756*
inherited prerogative is required. Years ago such exhibitions 556
were common, although curing shamans were rare.

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the conclusion [796]
of the *kusiut* season, though one is sometimes held prior
to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food
which he has stored up for the event is likely to be frozen.

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons 533
the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own 756*
composition. Theoretically both text and tune should have 556
been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many performers
undoubtedly employ songs used by shaman ancestors
which they have chanced to remember. Another device is to
describe a supernatural being seen in a dream. In some cases
there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer persuades
himself that he has received supernatural authorization.
The texts are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is [195]
spoken of as swift running water. Often a man will treasure
a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use
it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman
always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but [553]
if a man merely uses a feat observed in a dream, this is impossible,
so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman,
soon convincing himself that it was uttered by the apparition.
Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions [183]
may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the performance,
but it is not customary to voice these. The singers
repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue
doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose
further songs themselves for the performer. During the practising, 756*
those who are not *kukusiut* are expelled from the house.
A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the supernatural; 556
hence he is akin to the members of the society who, [575]
therefore, support him during his rite.[*] A herald is sent out [203]

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[*] Theoretically, a shaman need not be a *kusiut*, but visitations usually come only to those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are in the majority of cases already members of the society.

* 756 to make known to all that there will be a dance on the follow-
556 ing day, using the name of the shaman. After such announce-
ment, it would be most unusual for anyone to think of leaving
[203] a village until after the performance.

Towards dusk on the appointed day the people are sum-
moned to the house of the shaman. Near the door are seated
those who are not initiated *kukusiut*; in the inner part of the
house are members of the society, with the singers in their
533 accustomed places behind the fire. The shaman stands alone
535 between the fire and the door and sings one of his songs, the
time being marked by the words alone. Then he dances, his
* 756 wrists shaking, his head rolling from side to side, and his feet
556 marking time to the beating of sticks, as the singers accompany
the singing of his song. If more than one song has been com-
posed he dances to each, always accompanied by other sha-
mans and by them alone. The shaman's costume consists of
[292] the usual blanket, and eagle down is scattered in his hair, with
the additional and distinctive mark of intertwined dyed, and
undyed, cedar-bark. After every song, the singers beat time
very rapidly,[7] too rapidly for the dancer to keep pace with it,
so he merely sways backwards and forwards shaking his hands
violently. Then the shaman, assisted by a few friends whom
* 756 he has chosen for the purpose, performs a conjuring feat to
556 impress the uninitiated. The *kukusiut* realize that this may
be merely a deception, but since real shamans perform something of the same nature, there is always the possibility that it may be genuine. The shaman may choose some feat which he has seen some old shaman perform, or he may use something which he has seen in a dream; or rely purely on his own inventive ability, aided, as he always is, by carpenters. The method of carrying out each trick is carefully guarded, with the result that it was impossible to obtain information about more than a few. After the conjuring act, the shaman gives food to all, followed by presents. If it is the first time that he has given

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[7] This fast beating of time is called *alal*; it occurs only in shaman and *susek* dances.

such a ceremony, that is, if he is validating his name, the gifts 756 *
must be valuable. On later occasions, irrespective of whether 556
it is the same trick or another that is performed, the presents
will be of small value. Goods so given are not returnable.
After dancing, a shaman wears his collar of dyed and undyed
cedar-bark all summer, in fact until he rids himself of his [292]
supernatural endowment by the performance of a *kusiut* rite
the following winter.

Thus there is close inter-dependence of shaman and *kusiut* [575]
dances. On any later occasion, at a ceremony when songs of
all types are being sung, if the singers beat out the tunes of [533]
those used at the ritual just described, the shaman dances to [535]
them. This is said to "cure" him, as if the power within him
was a source of danger.

The following are examples of the conjuring tricks performed, 756 *
most of them done by the shaman *Ninitsamlaix*, a
relative of an informant, who was able to learn the methods 789
employed.

On one occasion *Ninitsamlaix* prepared two boxes, apparently the ordinary wooden sort used for cooking; across each he arranged a diagonal cross-piece so that the receptacle contained two watertight compartments. Previous to the performance, *Ninitsamlaix* poured water, dyed red with the bark of the alder, into one section of one of the boxes, and put eagle down in one of the compartments of the other. When the time came to carry out the rite he asked an accomplice, another shaman, to bring some water and pour it into his box. This was done, the assistant taking care to put it into the empty half, not into that which contained the dyed water. *Ninitsamlaix* shook the box and poured out some of the liquid to prove that it really was water, and then drank. The spectators, unaware of the cross-piece, did not notice that he did so from the corner opposite to that from which he had poured the water. He had, of course, drunk the dyed fluid. *Ninitsamlaix* cried out that what he had swallowed was paining him, and proceeded to vomit the red water, much to the surprise of the

756 *

shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it 755
also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it 782
is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the sickness
to be sucked forth.

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and 756 *
dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. 556
Until he gives his first dance a newly created shaman is known
as a *tsux*, the same word that is used for a *kusiut* initiate, and [575]
during this period he wears the shaman's collar of intertwined
dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential,
a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a performance [796]
can be held at any season, although the usual time is
after the *kusiut* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are
of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they
are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead
in doing things strangely. Thus one shaman reported that the
ghosts wore very long blankets, but when he danced he wore
one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the
same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose [535]
power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards,
his free hand pointing to the ground with first finger
extended. Also his cry of "*xwai, xwai, xwai,*" uttered at intervals
with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary
shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of
food to validate the ceremony.

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot transmit 756 *
their power. At death their songs too are lost, unless they 533
choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the [428]
dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that
all songs have been obtained during revelations, but is not at
all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers
assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, 539
is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which 756 *
shamanistic power is received from the dead.[a] 775

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[a] A few stories of similar type have been included in vol. I, chap. VIII to explain the life of the dead, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

177 *756 *787 [539] [533] The details of this incident are sufficiently circumstantial to presuppose a distorted historical event. Moreover, many of the old people had heard of the incident, another indication of the accuracy of the tradition. As far as could be judged, news of the vision must have reached Bella Coola about the year 1800.[11] It is said that the *snāx̣om* sang the following song in a language unknown to any of his hearers: *Aqwimıcu aqwimıcu sisils axwamıc qwisiya.*[12] None of the older men appear to have any idea of the meaning of these words, or even of the language to which they belong.

No event has had such profound effect on the lives of the Indians of British Columbia as the coming of the white man. It would be surprising if, looking backwards, they did not feel that it had been foretold by prophets. The preceding story is the only Bella Coola example of such a belief, although tales of a similar kind are found widely throughout the province. In addition, there are a few traditions of prophecies fulfilled by the white man. One of these is that long, long ago, a shaman stated that in the future the dead would return with the ability to make fire by rubbing the end of a small twig along a rough surface, and that, soon after, all the Indians would die. The Bella Coola consider that matches are referred to in the first part of the statement, and read their own doom

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[174] [11] The approximate date was determined in the following manner: The most complete account of the event was obtained from a man fifty-six years old in 1924 who had heard the details from his mother. He was the youngest of a large family, so it is probable that his mother was about forty-five years of age when he was born. When a child of about ten, she had been told of the vision by a woman just passed the age of child-bearing, who had recently reached adolescence when news of the event reached Bella Coola. The figures can be arranged in tabular form.

Duration of the informant's life	56 years.
Interval between his birth and the time his mother heard the news	35 years.
Interval between transmission of the news to the informant's mother and its receipt in Bella Coola	35 years.
Total	126 years.

Allowing for exaggerations, this would make the correct date about 1800.

[126] [12] A phonograph record was made of this song for the National Museum of Canada. Recorded as song VII D 21b; singer, Jim Pollard.

itself to be by withstanding the crushing weight of stone and 789
earth. An old Kimsquit man expressed the firm conviction 856
that his great age was the result of this treatment soon after 886
birth. [824]

To Cause Imperviousness to Cold

Kill a water ouzel, warm it at a fire, then press it against 789
every part of the infant's body. This makes him as heedless 825
of cold water as the bird. A merganser may be used in the
same way, or the foot of one be placed in the child's hand and 856
patted as his fingers clutch it.

To Cause a Quarrelsome Disposition

Burn the nest of wasps and rub the ashes on the infant's face. He will become as bellicose and quick to resent injury as the [155] insects. One old man who habitually beats his wife explains that this is involuntary, since he was treated in this way when a child. Fighting is no longer allowed, so the only person on whom he can exercise his martial ardour is his wife. The woman regards this treatment as a matter of course and the reason is accepted as valid by her associates.

To Cause Success in Thieving

Kill a pack-rat, warm it at a fire, and rub the carcass lightly over the infant's body. This will make him as successful a thief as the animal. Other methods are to cut off a foot and pat this as the infant clutches it in his fingers, or to rub its hands with the ashes of a burnt rat.

To Cause Success in Singing

Catch a live robin or *smuxmuxaxls* (probably one of the 533
thrushes), warm it at a fire, and rub it lightly against the in- 789
fant's throat, saying: 825

"May he be a singer like you." 856

Then release the bird, and the child will grow up a songster.
The following story is told of the power of the *smuxmuxaixls*'s [539]
song:

533 In the beginning of time it used to sing.

789 "I shall use a spoon and eat when the Bella Coola River has burst
825 its bounds on account of the teeming salmon in it."

The people used to laugh as it repeated this song year after year,
856 until the bird changed its note:

"I shall use a spoon and eat when all is cold and clear. Then there
[539] will be Death instead of salmon in Bella Coola."

The next year the streams were so clear that no fish could be caught and the starving people asked the bird to return to its first song. When it did so, the water became murky so that it was possible to catch salmon once more.

The Bella Bella, not the Bella Coola, use the body of a blue jay to cause an infant to grow up with the ability to master difficult tunes in the same way that the bird has a variety of notes. The method of applying this medicine could not be learnt.

789 Most of the above medicines are well known and can be
applied by any parent. If, however, a man has employed one
856 of them successfully on a number of occasions, he is often
requested to use his ability for others. In such a case, the
father of the benefited child is expected to reimburse his friend.
[184] The application or non-application of such medicines is purely
the concern of the child's family; they can use as many as they
like, or none at all, according to their discretion.

The following medicines are used during the first year of life:

To Cause Beauty

304 Bandages of the softest undyed cedar-bark are prepared for
789 infants of both sexes soon after birth. A woman who is a good
856 artist is requested to draw with charcoal two pictures on one
532 of the pieces of bark—of handsome men if the child is a boy,
or of lovely women if a girl. An unmarked wrapping is fastened round the infant's head, then the painted one so arranged that one picture is over the forehead, the other over the occiput, and finally other plain bandages to cover the whole. These
[826] are left in place for about one year. They flatten the forehead

and back of the head, preventing a bulging appearance which 304
is considered ugly, while the paintings ensure beauty of countenance. 789
Cranial deformation has no supernatural sanction, 856
though it is believed to have been carried out for generations. [532]

To Cause Leanness [826]

Place pieces of caribou skin on an infant's wrists and ankles
and leave them in position for several months. He will grow 789
up lean and wiry, like the animal. 856

To Cause Left-handedness [825]

Shake the left hand of an infant while lying in the cradle and he will be left-handed throughout life. To do this is considered a malevolent action.

To Cause the Hair to Grow (two means)

(1) Rub the infant's scalp with the eye of a *Hakwlk* (red [825]
cod?), freshly removed from the fish's head.

(2) Boil stems of the swamp gooseberry in water and rub [824]
the mixture over the infant's scalp.

Wise mothers always apply one or other of these remedies to their children.

To Cause Ability in Singing (two means)

(1) When an infant is a few months old, the parents frequently 533
request a good singer to impart to him ability similar 789
to his own. He takes his beating-stick, spits on it, and rubs 856
it over the child's heart, saying:

"Please be a singer."

This is done only for male children. [858]

(2) Boil together herbs and a bear's bladder and smear the [825]
decoction on the infant's back. He must thenceforth wear
around his neck for several months a small sack containing
four blue grouse gall-bladders (possibly stones from the crop
were meant). This gives the child the singing ability of the
bird, but the significance of the bear bladder is unknown.

It is said that one man accidentally sucked when spitting 789
on a toad, and swallowed the creature. It lived within his 825
stomach for fifty years, causing no discomfort though its
master could feel it moving, and its singing could be heard at 886
intervals. This brought him no supernatural power, although he was enabled by it to live to a great age. When at last he died, the toad came hopping out of his throat and was carried respectfully to the river by his friends who covered the creature with eagle down and dyed and undyed cedar-bark.

Some of the rites already described with regard to animals and fish are similar in nature to this medicine.

To Cause Obesity 789

A medicine was formerly used by chiefs to make them fat 826
and important-looking, but details of it have been forgotten. 622

To Cause Ability in Singing

Catch an *axexon·i* (varied thrush?) alive and pat it four 533
times against the throat of the woman to whom it is desired 789
to impart the art, saying:

"May she be a singer like you." 825

Release the bird and the woman will become a good singer.

This bird is considered by the Bella Coola to be the finest songster among British Columbia birds, and they say that many animals and fish, including even the halibut, gather to hear its singing.

To Cause Ability in Hunting 224

There is a poisonous plant which, when eaten, almost kills 789
the eater. If he recovers, he is henceforth endowed with great
ability as a hunter. The species could not be ascertained. 824

To Cause Change in Weather

If a cold wind is desired: Heat the penis of a mountain 789
goat or beaver at a fire. 821

If rain is desired: Wash the penis of a large buck and 825
throw it into the ocean or a river, saying:

2: McIlwraith
533, 539

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

/For a discussion of Bella Coola songs and the text of songs see category 116, pp. 267-337./

though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a 575*
potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails consider- 424
able expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony 425
frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for
generations. Like other loaned prerogatives, failure to return 553
is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a [556]
kusiut name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of [578]
them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is
customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new [426]
kusiut prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes
a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person
who resembles a deceased relative of the dancer.

(2) *A Patron, emátats.* Little need be said on this point. 575*
The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his 424
patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of
the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any 776
type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé per- [533] ●
form on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing [535]
of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the
same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these
to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power.
Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which [578]
they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one individual may own several prerogatives with different patrons. Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six distinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name 575*
remains, guarded by *Anol'ikwalsaix*. An individual with sev- 424
eral prerogatives has a repository for each.

778

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual [779]
is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural
origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the [781]
abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

The first night is *lsustálaix* or *lsustámem*.[5] This is when the 575*
call comes to a prospective dancer. This may be heralded by 796
whistling from above, made by a *kusiut* sent with a whistle to [104]
a neighbouring mountain for the purpose, by a thud on the roof, likewise produced by an accomplice, or by no intimation whatever. The dancer utters a low call, sometimes begins to walk in circles with bent head, or to act in some other peculiar manner, while a whistle sounds repeatedly. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house and a herald informs the [203]
village that something strange has come upon the dancer. The *kukusiut* gather in his house, and four times help him by the frenzied, but regular, beating of sticks. Then the singers [533]
sing a song previously prepared, the words describing either his patron or the land above. After listening closely, the *kukusiut* join in and rehearse it until it is familiar. The dancer may or may not perform; if he is inadept in the steps, he does so for practice. If the hour is not too late, the singers may choose, purely for practice, to beat out a number of the songs of those *kukusiut* who have already performed during the ceremonial season. A meal, provided by the dancer and his family, is then served. The singers next beat out the dancer's song once more and he dances, concluding the evening's performance. Novices and those who have already performed during the season take up their abode in the dancer's house, where they remain for the ensuing four days and nights. [104]

The second day is *nusiutálsap*.[6] Quite early in the morning [203]
a herald calls the *kukusiut* to the dancer's house, an invitation accepted by as many as wish to do so. A second song is usually [533]
composed and practised in the same manner as on the previous evening. Several *kukusiut* are sent to the forest to cut wood [532]
for masks, the number of sections required depending upon the number to be used. In the evening all members of the society [533]
assemble to practise the songs.[7] The making of the masks

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[5] In Kimsquit called [illegible].

[6] The term [illegible] is occasionally used for the rites occurring on the day itself.

[7] The rehearsal of the second is sometimes postponed until this time.

1

The making of the masks

*575 796 532 [437] [465] is allotted to different *kukusiut*, usually in accordance with the dancer's wishes, although a marshal normally gives out the actual tasks. The dancer, or one of his relatives, bestows presents on each person to whom work is allotted. The evening of *wusiutälsap* is called *ämllämkum*.

[104] The third day is *qotlm*. Those to whom mask making has been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start their work. About noon they are provided with a meal, to which other *kukusiut* may be invited. By late afternoon, when most of the work has been accomplished, the chips are carefully swept up and burnt, and the house tidied, ready for the uninitiated who will be invited during the evening. *575 796 On either this day or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the four days. About dusk the *kukusiut* are called in; the singers take their places behind the fire, Cannibals, Breakers, and Scratchers are in one of the back corners, where a matting enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the remainder group themselves without distinction around the walls. [184] In Kimsquit, though not in Bella Coola, one or more of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a sloping pole behind the fire. ●[533] If the singers think it necessary, they may practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the uninitiated are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances in time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *kusiut* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *kusiut*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *kukusiut* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual lasts for most of the night. When all have danced, the

uninitiated are expelled, with the exception of the *susaok* to 575*
whom, as guests, a meal is served. Then they too leave and 796
the *kukusiut* eat together. Finally, the singers strike up one
of the dancer's songs, and he dances to it to end the evening's
rites.

The fourth day is *nebusam*, "That Which Is Opened." [104]
During the day the carpenters work to complete the masks, [532]
and towards dusk the house is again put in order. The *kukusiut*
are summoned again to practise the songs, if necessary, [533]
and always to arrange who shall wear the masks, a matter left
to the marshals and the carpenters. Then the uninitiated are
called in to see the masked figures and watch any dramatic [532]
representation. After their exclusion, the masks are burnt.
Then the *kukusiut* gather outside the dancer's house where his
song is sung once more to send his call back above. Frequently
another *kusiut* now receives a call, so that the *nebusam* of one
dancer is likewise the *lsuxtämem* for another. The *kukusiut*
assemble in the latter's house, but the uninitiated are not allowed
to return to that from which they have been ejected
until the platform-enclosure has been destroyed at the end of
the season.

A word might be said about *kusiut* paraphernalia, although 575*
much of this will have to be described in detail for special 796
dances. Boas gives illustrations of a large number of *kusiut*
masks and gives such an admirable description of them that 532
little need be added. They are carved from the solid wood, [114]
the larger of beech, the smaller of alder, and each carpenter
endeavours to make a striking effigy of the being portrayed. [824]
Ane'likwolsaix is present at every dance and has become so
well standardized that she can always be recognized. This is
true, also, for Thunder, Echo, the *haohao*, the Laugher, the [776]
Hermaphrodite, and a few other supernatural beings, but so
much variation occurs in others that even a *kusiut* of much
experience cannot always tell what being is represented. The
masks are painted, and sometimes the designs indicate the
being, even though the carving fails to do so; verisimilitude is

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

X sometimes re-
ceives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, 575*
or from some other interested relative. In this case both are 796
expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they
will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or 425
themes. According to some informants they immediately sing 553
one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared 533
in advance. The *kukusiut* listen until they have mastered it.

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, 575*
or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kusiut* 796
ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the
singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the 556
guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without 264
deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts
from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his
blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his
clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, 425
X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists
of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in 292
Stuux and the other villages of the upper valley this is decor- 784
ated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kukusiut* of these villages
also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin 237
with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *āłq·łł*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

prohibitions that last not for one year, but for four. X is not 575*
subject to any other restraints. If he wishes to go hunting 784
he can remove his cedar-bark collar and hang it for convenience [524]
in the forest near his village, redonning it on his return. [525]
The *kukusiut* show considerable interest in their new member,
not only by warning him what he must not do, but by teaching
him how to dance and to growl or make other of the necessary,
but unusual, noises. During the remainder of the ceremonial 575*
season X is required to attend every *kusiut* dance, thereby 533
learning much of the ceremonial, and during the following 535
summer his relatives, especially if food is plentiful, frequently
invite the *kukusiut* to their house. The singers beat out well-known
tunes, or practise those which will be required for the
following winter; if a song has been composed for X he dances
in time to it, in the style proper to his prerogative. Formerly,
when there were many novices, dances of this type took place
frequently and were useful in giving constant practice to
singers and neophytes alike. As no calls from supernatural
patrons can come at this time of year, it follows that all such
dances are of a non-sacred nature, although the uninitiated
are excluded. During his period as a novitiate, X has one 575*
privilege; he can take food from anyone at any type of ceremony. 264
It is remembered that one novice was even bold
enough to take food which had been placed as an offering for
the dead.

When the next *kusiut* season opens, X attends every performance. 575*
This is probably the most thrilling and nerve-racking 781
period in his life. He does not know exactly when he
will be allowed to give his dance, since that is a matter of 796
arrangement between his relatives and the marshals, but he
knows that the time will soon be at hand. When the great
day, or rather night, actually comes, X is usually in a state of
abject terror. The rite itself does not differ from those about
to be described except that the first song relates the manner in
which X found the repository. But the mental attitude of X
differs greatly from that of an old performer. One informant,

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 781 796 a woman about sixty years of age, vividly recalled her fears when she, a young woman, gave her first performance. It was the Dance of *Winwina* (II, p. 187), in which she had to call out loudly when a large number of uninitiated persons, including Carrier Indians, were present. One of the marshals was her great-uncle and he had carefully taught her what she was to say. A few minutes before the time for her announcement he came to where she lay hidden in an enclosure behind the fire:

"Do you see your relatives here?" he said. "Look at your father, your mother, and your uncles. If you fail to say what you are expected to say, they will all die in a few weeks, and so will you. Be bold!"

The woman asserted that it was the most terrifying experience in her whole life because, though she knew there was [688] deception in the rites, she also knew the power of the society and that the threat of death in case of error was no idle one. She was so frightened that she forgot the carefully learnt words and it required the prompting of the hidden marshal to get her through the ordeal.

But once the first rite has been successfully negotiated, it is a proud day for the novice. He feels himself a real *kusiut* and glories in his superiority over his former associates. For the rest of the season he, like everyone else who has performed a dance, must attend every rite. Energetic novices sometimes give their dances on two, or even three, successive years, though usually a man allows five or six to elapse between displays.

*575 766 ●[533] If X should die during the year's interval between his initiation and his first dance, he is secretly buried by his fellow *kukusiut* without the customary mourning rites, and with no uninitiated persons present at the grave. His song, if one has been composed for him, is sung softly, and he is interred adorned with his collar of dyed cedar-bark. During the next ceremonial season, that at which he should have danced, it is necessary for a brother, or other near relative, to receive a call since it is felt that a dance once begun must be completed,

and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non-members 575*
are told that the death was due to one of the many 766
dangers connected with the society.

It is said that, in former times, the *kukusiut* sometimes held 575*
a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled 769
that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable
on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discontinued. 533
In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead 177
kukusiut, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to
prohibition of the potlatch.

The Ritual of Specific Dances

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE DANCES

A detailed description of various *kusiut* dances can now be 575*
given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference 796*
between them that each will require a separate account, although
considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning
in connection with the first dance those features common to
all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative
of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the [424]
Land of the Salmon to visit *Nusqulxwaista*. Several *kukusiut* [776]
have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should
wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so.
Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the marshals
see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does
so without conflicting with another. The first dance described
is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kusiut* season.

THE DANCE OF *Noäkx̣nɪm*[14]

The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the 773
September moon is full there starts from the Land of the 824
Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Noăkx̣nɪm*, commanded by 825
a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly

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[14] Cf. Boas, p. 40.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

Although 575*

theoretically, every *kusiut* should know the origin myth of his 424 prerogative, these are rarely remembered, a state of affairs 773 differing entirely from that with respect to ancestral origin myths. An ancestor of *Äluskinwasam* is supposed to have seen *Noäkx̣nım*, decorated with the tails of two eagles stuck in his hair. The following myth was obtained of the origin of [539] *Xemtnım*'s prerogative:

> In the beginning there came down to Mount *Nus·läxım*, a small mountain on the south side of the Bella Coola River about three-quarters of a mile from the sea, *Ällilımnälosaix*, his younger brother *Omqomkilıka*, and their sister. *Älquntäm* had given them a model house, so small that it was portable, but which could enlarge to any size at their wish. It was called *Skqwälutl*, a name they bestowed also on their sister. They brought the *sısaok* designation, *Xemxemlaix*, with the right to perform a dance. The party, including Raven, who was like a son to *Ällilımnälosaix*, came down from their mountain top looking for a place to settle. As people were already living at *Q̣omqo·ts* and *Älqäläxl*, they chose *Slskiul* as their home.
>
> From this place the three could hear the beating of drums, as the people of the adjacent villages performed their *kusiut* dances and Raven determined that his companions should not lack the privileges which others enjoyed. Accordingly he flew down the fiord where he saw *Noäkx̣nım*, whom he obtained as patron for *Ällilımnälosaix*. This prerogative was embodied in the name *Xemtnım*, which is still in use.[17]

The prerogative of seeing *Noäkx̣nım* is known as *dakdak·älaix*, "The Comer," or "The Ever-Comer." It will be con- 575* 796* venient to refer to the person who has this power as X. As already described, if he had been initiated during the preceding [424] ceremonial season, he is now obliged to dance. In later years, if he wishes to do so, he first consults the marshals, and if they consent he begins his preparations during the summer. Among other matters, X informs the singers of his intentions and they [533] begin to compose songs. Occasionally they re-use one from a previous year, but to do this is to admit lack of creative ability. The usual practice is to compose new tunes and to adapt to them words bearing on the proper theme, sometimes including

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[17] It will be noted that this myth is of the typical origin type, and furnishes an instance of the manner in which *kusiut* prerogatives occur in such. [539]

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 snatches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the
*796 same compositions from year to year, and recently some of
● [533] these, both tunes and foreign words, have been adopted by
the Bella Coola. Long ago the marshals would have pro-
[177] hibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained
the foreign prerogative by marriage.

As the time draws near for *Noäkx̣nɩm* to start his voyage, [805] X anxiously consults any of the elder ***kukusiut*** who may be calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that *Noäkx̣nɩm* is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers, who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fixedly towards the west, and calls out:

[787] "Once more I see what I saw last year," or some other more or less specific claim to a vision.

It is believed that *Noäkx̣nɩm* must round four points before [773] reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey beneath the sea is similar to that of a canoe pushing up one of the long fiords.

*[203] Some of the marshals are always in readiness and one of them tells a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to notify the ***kukusiut*** of what is about to take place. The mes-
*575 senger does so, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated
*796 behind the fire, begin to beat out one of the songs composed
533 during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal eye-sight, due to his patron having sent to him the super-
[776] natural being, ***Nulälsɩmtnam***, at the moment of his departure. This being does not seem to possess corporeal form, but is rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X at having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a
[292] head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

if he so desires. The *kukusiut* listen to the song, and when it 575*
is resung they join in. They practise it repeatedly, until 796*
familiar with both words and tune. This part of the ceremony [533] ●
lasts for about two hours.

The singers, and any others who are prepared to beat time, [292]
are always provided with long, flat, thin sounding-boards to [534]
increase the din of the pounding. When the marshals decide
that the song is sufficiently familiar, they tell some of the
kukusiut to carry these boards to the lowest house of the village. They do this, and also scatter clean sand on the floor,
as is customary whenever a supernatural being is to enter.
The uninitiated persons within the house watch with great
interest. The singers enter and take their places behind the 575*
fire, then other *kukusiut* and finally X himself; his face is
unblackened, but he wears his two eagle tails in his hair and 796*
a collar of dyed cedar-bark. On his head is a thin cylindrical 292
circlet, about four inches high, of the same material, ornamented with swan's down by the inhabitants of the villages
of the upper Bella Coola valley. The collar consists of a roll
of grass, entirely covered with dyed cedar-bark from which
pendant tassels of the same hang down over his chest; similar
ones are worn by *sisaok* dancers, except that the tassels hang
down their backs. Every *kusiut* dancer wears these two ornaments, and those who have the necessary prerogative adorn
themselves with an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. [424]
Blankets are always worn. *Kukusiut* women wear in addition [237]
woollen pubic garments.

As the singers beat out X's tune, accompanied by the 575*
voices of themselves and other *kukusiut*, he dances. Since his
style is typical of all *kukusiut* except Cannibals and a few 796*
others, it will be well to digress at this point in order to describe 535
it. X raises his arms until their upper parts are approximately
the height of his shoulders, and project outwards and slightly
to the front; they are bent at the elbows with the forearms
vertical, thus bringing the hands opposite the top of the head.
Both wrists are shaken constantly, the muscles of the lower

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 arms being brought into play, so that the whole hands are con-
*796 stantly quivering without spasmodic movements. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a skilful performer, and the inces-
535 sant shaking is continued without stop throughout the dance.

[533] Most *kusiut* songs are in five parts, which may be described as three verses, separated by two choruses. Near the beginning of the first verse X stands up, raises his arms, shakes his fingers, then slightly bends his legs and begins to step in time to the beating of the sticks. Some dancers remain almost stationary, marking time, to use the military term, others advance in steps of an inch or so, at intervals slowly revolving sunwise.[18] Sometimes X introduces a variation by bending from side to side, in which case one hand rises above the other. If the time of the song is very slow, he sinks, bending his knees to a great extent, and advances in more lengthy strides, never ceasing to shake his hands. At each chorus the time becomes so rapid that it is impossible to move the feet in accordance with it, and then X crouches, his shaking hands the only movement. If it
[424] is a woman who is dancing—like most *kusiut* prerogatives, this
[562] one is not limited to men—the style of dancing is quite different. Keeping the upper part of each arm close to her body, the dancer extends her fore-arms, outwards, parallel to the ground, with the palms upwards. Like a man, she shakes her wrists, but few female dancers move from the spot on which they start, except perhaps to turn around, sunwise. Heralds always keep up a running fire of comments, especially when a woman is dancing, urging her not to be bashful, but to allow her breasts to shake. Some dancers have merged into one
[424] prerogative rights acquired from different coastal tribes. In such cases they perform in two or more styles, each part according to one prerogative.

Kukusiut are always ready to assist one of their fellows, so that three or four friends are always willing to accompany the dancer. They stand close behind him, at frequent intervals blowing over his head the eagle down which either X, or some

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[171] [18] The Bella Coola state that the Bella Bella revolve counter-sunwise.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

of his relatives, has given them for this purpose. When he 575*
crouches during the chorus they crowd close around, almost 796*
concealing him. Particularly in those dances fraught with
danger to the performer, it is customary for any number of his 535
friends, either men or women, to dance to "help" him. Anyone
wishing to do so merely stands up and begins, in time to
the music, irrespective of what part of the house he may be in. [593]
It is considered contrary to good manners for a father so to
help his son, or a brother a brother, but a dancer is pleased to
have aid from anyone else. It is said that in Bella Bella [171]
certain *kukusiut* have definite prerogatives of helping in this
way, but this is not the case in Bella Coola. Throughout [533] ●
every dance the *kukusiut* women utter their droning cry.

This, then, is the type of dance which the uninitiated in 575*
the lowest house see. They hear the song, too, and gaze with 796*
awe at X, imbued as he is with the supernatural power of sight.
Then the sounding-boards are picked up and taken to the
next house, where the whole ceremonial is repeated. This is
done at each house of the village.[19] All the *kukusiut* now return
to X's house, where he once more dances to his song. A box-drum [534]
is always used to help the singers in keeping time, and
when the song has been finished two men continue in turn to
beat it all day. X always arranges to have a relative or friend
superintend the distribution of food, which follows his final [574]
dancing. As the *kukusiut* are eating, the marshals deliver their
usual admonishments, a task that accompanies every meal.
Then they call on the people to erect a raised platform between
the fire and the back-wall of the house. Materials have been
placed in readiness so that it is an easy matter to build a framework
a few feet in height, of which the flat top is screened by
a matting wall about three feet high. This is often decorated [531]
with designs of dyed cedar-bark without ritual significance as
far as the Bella Coola of today are aware. X climbs to this
platform, the *kukusiut* disperse, and only the incessant pounding
of the drum proves that some unusual event is taking place.

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[19] In Bella Coola, but perhaps not in Kimsquit.

[184]

[The Dance of NoAKxnim]

*575 *796 X is supposed to be gazing constantly to the west, watching for another sight of *Noäkx̣nm*. With the aid of a friend, X arranges his eagle tail head-dress on a box so that it projects above the wall of the platform as if he were sitting within. The uninitiated understand that X is watching, and the motionless feathers confirm their belief. Meanwhile X remains hidden in the back-room, never leaving the house except when necessary, and then only under cover of night.

*575 *796 787 ●533 *[203] On the fourth day after his first vision, X stands up and cries out:

Yupälx, "The Point."

The significance is that X sees *Noäkx̣nm* as he appears around the first point. A herald is at once sent out. First he repeats loudly the exact words used, then departs to call the *kukusiut* to X's house. When they have taken their places the singers beat out a new song previously composed, the second for X. The theme describes how *Noäkx̣nm* is rounding the first promontory, in his craft which is often likened to a cloud or a flock of birds. This they practise, before carrying sounding-boards and drums to the lowest house in the village, where the singers and a number of *kukusiut* take up their stations. When all is ready X enters, the women utter their droning cry, and, to the accompaniment of the beating of time and the singing of his new song, he dances around the fire. This same procedure is carried out in every house of the village, working from the bottom upwards. Finally all return to X's house where they receive food and the usual admonitions from a marshal. Then they disperse. This is about 11 A.M.

X again climbs to the platform where his head-dress is arranged as if he were sitting constantly gazing towards the approaching *Noäkx̣nm*. For four days he remains hidden, and on the morning of the fifth he again cries out:

Yupälx.

This time it signifies that the supernatural one has rounded a second promontory. The same ritual is repeated, the calling [203] by the herald, the meeting in X's house, and the procession to

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

every abode. The song on this occasion, the third for X, 575*
describes what *Noäkx̣nɩm* is doing on his journey, as if X were 796*
relating what he saw. The *kukusiut* return to X's house for 787
another meal and the admonishments of a marshal. 533

For four days more X retires from sight. On the morning of the fifth day he once more calls:

Yupälx.

Exactly the same procedure is carried out, the theme of this fourth song being of how *Noäkx̣nɩm* can be seen rounding a third promontory.

X remains in concealment for four days more, then cries out again. This time the song describes how *Noäkx̣nɩm* has rounded the fourth and last promontory and how the supernatural beings above have sighted him. This is the fifth song used for X. As on the previous occasions, he conceals himself on the platform after making a tour of the village.

On the morning of the fifth day later, X cries out that *Noäkx̣nɩm* is at the mouth of the river where he has tied his craft to the stakes of a salmon-trap. The belief of the Bella Coola is that he approaches up an underwater fiord, into which flows an underwater river provided with a salmon-trap; X
alone can see these phenomena. The herald goes from house [203]*
to house repeating the announcement. The *kukusiut*, too,
visit each, singing the song while X dances. He and the singers always decide beforehand on his actual statement, so that the words of the song will be in agreement, as if the singers had composed it on the spot. Once again X retires from sight.

Five days later he arouses the household with his loud shouting:

"*Noäkx̣nɩm* is in the river itself. He has reached the home [776]
of the Resident; *Imimätlnaix* is mooring his craft. *Dakdakänmem* and *Älällɩmktnɩm* are greeting him."

The herald repeats this news throughout the village. The 575*
uninitiated know in general terms who these supernatural 796*
beings are. The Resident lives under the water at the mouth 776
of the river; his function is to see that the stream and the [203]*

*575 salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the
*796 supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *Imimätłnaix*,
"The Moorer," is a supernatural child who stays with the
776 Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the mooring
of *Noäkx̣nʌm*'s craft. *Dakdakänmem* is sent by *Smaiɛn·a*, who
in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet
Noäkx̣nʌm, and with him come *Smaiɛn·a*'s son, *Älällʌmktnʌm*,[20]
to assist *Noäkx̣nʌm* in poling his craft up the river. All these
beings are patrons for different *kukusiut*. The Resident is also
known as *Ämtäklis*.

* The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house as on the previous
575 occasions; according to some informants two songs are used
*796 on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the
787 usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way upstream.
[533] When about half through the village, however, X
shrieks out that *Numätlam* has brought a call to him. The
woman and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to
his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled,
and the *kusiut* whistles sound from within. *Numätlam* is one
of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Noäkx̣nʌm*
for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical
[805] experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November
moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of
[821] the older men admitted that errors were common, and that
sometimes four days more had to elapse, in which it was said
that *Noäkx̣nʌm* was poling up the river. As he passes, his
dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive
nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent
[184] settlements on the same night, but the *kusiut* season is two or
three days shorter in *Stuʌx* and the upper villages than in
Q̇omqo·ts. Exact information on this point was unavailable.
*575 As already described, *Noäkx̣nʌm* travels to *Smaiɛn·a*, whence
*796 he leaps to *Nusqulxwaista* and places his pole within the house.
All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for
773 *Älquntäm*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Noäkx̣nʌm* seizes his

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[20] Some informants state that there are four of these beings.

pole and starts his journey downstream. 575*

Now that X has received his call, the ceremonial continues 796*
for four days more, in a manner typical of *kusiut* dances. Only
variations from the pattern about to be described will be given [773]
in later dance rituals.

X spends the rest of this day on which the call has come 575*
to him, the twenty-fourth of the whole rite, within his house.
In the evening a herald summons the *kukusiut*, this being the 796*
night of *lsuxtämem*. In *Stuix* the call used is: 184

Skinap Stuixao, "Cure, ye *Stuix* people," because it is 203 *
believed that a call almost kills a *Stuix* person. This is probably true for the people of the other villages of the upper valley, but elsewhere this cry is used only when a novice receives his first call. In the lower valley and at Kimsquit the cry is:

Snux̣exeldimut kukusiaot, "Bring light, ye *kukusiut*."

Care is always taken to use the right expression with refer- 575*
ence to the locality of the dancer's repository, irrespective of
where he may happen to be living. 796*

All the *kukusiut* are expected to attend, in fact, they are 533 ●
glad to do so, but attendance is compulsory for novices only.
When all have assembled, one of the leading singers takes
command. The coming of his call is supposed to have made [787]
X light-headed, and he must be cured by a frenzied beating of
sticks four times repeated. During this X himself remains quiescent. The singers now group themselves into a close circle to compose a song describing the supernatural beings seen by X during the day. As a rule, each man has one or more tunes in his mind which he hums to his associates as he softly beats time. Then another does the same, and this is repeated until unanimity of opinion is reached concerning the most suitable. The leader of the choir fits the proper words to this, assisted by his comrades and perhaps by X himself, or someone well acquainted with his prerogative.[31] As soon as the singers have finished their work they widen their circle and sing the song loudly so that it can be heard and learnt by all,

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[31] This song, like the ones used earlier, is sometimes prepared in advance.

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 while X dances to and fro behind the fire. In succession the
*796 six songs previously composed are resung and X dances to
each. The singers would be disgraced should they forget
● 533 either a tune or a text, so they take advantage of *lsuxtämem* to practise them all. Later in the season, when numerous *kukusiut* have received calls, the singers beat out the time and words for each and the owner dances. The general effect is remarkably impressive in the dim light of one of the large wooden houses, nor is the music displeasing to the ear. After the singing of X's seventh song, there is a pause while food is distributed amid the admonitions of the marshals. Once more the singers take up their sticks and beat out the song most recently composed for X; the audience joins in softly and he dances. The *kukusiut* now disperse with the exception of the novices who sleep in X's house. He himself does not withdraw to his platform. The ritual of X's *lsuxtämem* differs from that of most *kukusiut* since his comrades have already learnt six songs for him. On most occasions they hear and practise one only, to which he dances in the manner described.

*575 The next day is *nusiutälsap*. About eleven o'clock in the
*796 morning the heralds go to every house calling out:

532 *Tlpänap, lipänap, kukusiaot,* "Cut, cut, ye *kukusiut.*"

The uninitiated do not realize that this is an invitation to
*[203] gather to cut wood for masks. X, or his relatives, always provides a meal which is eaten before the main work is attended to. Then the singers group themselves and compose still
[533] another song[11] for X, with the same theme, but different words, as the one composed the previous evening. When ready, they chant it loudly so that all can hear and learn, and then sing it with the audience joining in, while X dances. After a short pause, X asks as many of his comrades as he desires to go with
[784] him to the forest to cut wood. Some member of the party carries a whistle which he sounds at intervals, thus warning

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[176] [11] This would normally be a dancer's second song, the large number practised for X before the coming of his call being unusual. Not many years ago a powerful chief created the innovation of having one song only instead of two. Some *kukusiut* follow his example whereas others still use two.

*575 *796 532 [789] This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manufacture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* ..... Any *kusiut* can make a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type. This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

*575 *796 ●[533] As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion among informants. In any case the re-singing on *nusiutālsap* is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of songs. Later on in the *kusiut* season, the songs of other dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish to practice their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so. [574] [431] [424] Finally, a meal is distributed, while the marshals discourse in the usual way. Feasts are features of all *kusiut* dances, and the food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought of repayment. After eating, the *kukusiut* disperse; X must sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his platform-enclosure.

*575 *796 532 *[203] [177] [562] The next day, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, is *qotlm*. Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with which masks are completed is surprising, although this has undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools. In the middle of the day a few *kukusiut* men, no women, are invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

*575 shals tells a herald to call them in; they enter joyfully, though
somewhat fearfully, and stand or crouch on either side of the
*796 doorway. In Kimsquit they gaze on the masks, wondering
*[203] what they are. The singers strike up the first of X's songs and
he dances, while singers and *kukusiut* men sing the words and
*575 the women drone. To the uninitiated it appears most impres-
*796 sive and desirable, while even the prosaic white man can
hardly remain indifferent. At intervals a whistle, which the
533 uninitiated believe to be the voice of the call, sounds eerily
● from beneath the armpit of a reliable *kusiut*. After a short
interval, X's second song is sung, and so in succession the eight.
Then the singers strike up any well-remembered tune, perhaps
one used last year, and the owner dances. This is repeated
for eight or ten songs. At later [illegible], every *kusiut* who has
had a call during the season must dance; the ceremony tends,
therefore, to become longer and longer as time goes on, although
the singing of the songs of a previous year is omitted. When
enough performers have danced, a shaman's song is often sung
and the owner dances "to clear the house." At this point the
*575 uninitiated spectators are told to withdraw. Then a meal is
*796 served to the *sisauk* who, as members of a similar organization,
[301] are honoured guests and have been seated together in a corner,
resplendent in their weasel-skin ornaments. After their
[237] departure, the *kukusiut* eat more leisurely, while one marshal
[431] after another advises them as to their conduct. Then presents
of comparatively small value are distributed. The marshals
would consider it unbecoming for X to provide over-lavishly.
[465] The first gifts are to the singers, the next to the makers of the
masks. Though these presents are, in essence, pay, they are
never thought of in that light; X is under obligations, X has
cleared himself of those obligations, is the Bella Coola attitude.
When all is over, X once more dances to one of his softly sung
songs. Then one of the marshals calls out to open the door
and the guests disperse, except the novices who sleep in X's
house.

The next day is sulutam,* the twenty-seventh and final day of the rite, and the most spectacular in every ceremonial. Early in the morning a herald summons the wood-workers to X's house to complete the masks. At intervals throughout the day *kukusiut* come to discuss with X, the marshals, the singers, and the carpenters the details of the evening ceremonial. In fact, X has less to do with the arrangements than any of those mentioned, unless he happens to be a *kusiut* of long standing. The marshals usually decide who shall wear the masks, although the maker of each is always consulted; X himself never wears one at his own ceremony. The *kusiut* who is to represent *Anulikwutsaix* must have the ability to speak fluently and in a high-pitched voice supposedly like that of a woman. Strong men are required for some of the heavy masks such as Thunder, but most may be used by anyone. A person asked to wear one seldom refuses, although he is liable to punishment in case of dropping it or any other accident. No one marshal can dictate who shall wear a particular mask, all these matters are arranged with endless discussion during the day; stage management is not a highly developed Bella Coola profession. The masks are completed by the afternoon at latest, painted, and concealed behind a matting enclosure, one of which is built in each rear corner of the house. Sometimes the back-room itself is used to hide the sacred objects and only one shelter is constructed. The makers of the masks remain there with them, to assist in tying them over the heads of the wearers. Meanwhile all chips are swept up and burnt and the house made tidy for the evening. 575* 796* 592 [205]*

As twilight falls a herald goes to every house inviting the *kukusiut* to assemble in X's. The uninitiated gather outside the door, waiting eagerly for the summons to enter and see the wonders; their curiosity, and fear, piqued by the sound of a whistle from within. But there are still delays; many of the *kukusiut* wish to express themselves concerning the conduct of 575* 796* [205]*

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*If the masks and other paraphernalia are not ready, several days may elapse before sulutam. Every evening the *kukusiut* gather to practise the songs. [533]

* 575
* 996
592
599
Among the passengers in *Nuskyum*'s canoe are a number of singers, who replace the usual ones on this occasion. Each wears the same type of mask, painted with red diagonals, and with white feathers[a] projecting from the top.[b] After the uninitiated have gazed for some time upon the wonders, their leader, *Snukwumsimatik*, takes his place and his followers begin to beat out an ancient song, believed to be sung in *Nuskyum*'s craft as it nears Bella Coola. The theme is:

"See me, mortals, I am *Nutsamaiaulkdimut Nuskyum*, the dancer of *Nuskyum*."

As the music starts, a figure rises from among the singers, wearing a mask with heavy eye-brows[c] and carrying a light staff about six feet in length, wound spirally with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with a tassel of dyed bark. Holding this in his hand he begins to
$ 575
* 996
[535]
dance lightly, running back and forth a few steps at a time in time to the beating of sticks, lifting his feet freely from the ground, and bending back and forth in airy grace, all the while waving his wand to and fro. There are no fixed steps, the only essential is that he convey the impression of being light of foot and a good dancer; accordingly, the person selected for this purpose is one with these qualifications. As he moves, *Ane'likmalaix* explains to the uninitiated that this is *Nutsamaiaulkdimut*, a dancer of great repute who accompanies *Nuskyum* and guards his singers. At this point *Ane'likmalaix*'s own song may or
[535]
may not be sung. It never varies, and is believed to have been handed down from dim antiquity. X himself must be the singer, accordingly it can be sung only when the dancer has a good voice. If this is the case, the marshals request him to perform, and, if necessary, teach him the exact words. X, standing behind the fire, sings alone and unaccompanied, then the singers repeat the song in unison with the beating of their
[535]
sticks, and *Ane'likmalaix* himself dances, using, of course, the feminine style. At this juncture the uninitiated must be en-

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[126]

[a] Seldom feathers are now used.

[b] One of these masks was purchased for the National Museum of Canada.

[c] One of these masks was obtained for the National Museum of Canada.

[The Dance of Wil·a]

have the thud on the roof, which is made by an accomplice, is 575*
the call itself, or a being bringing it to X, is problematical. 786*
All non-members are expelled immediately, including guests [787]
other than Kimsquit or *Tälio kukusiut*. One is tempted to
conjecture whether or not the donor of the potlatch does not [556]
use this rite as a means of getting rid of his guests if they show
a disposition to linger too long.

The call having come to X, this is the day of *[illegible]*. In the early evening a herald goes up and down the platform outside the houses, calling out in effect:

"He has been pressed to earth beneath the weight."

No mention is made of who "he" may be, although the
uninitiated are well aware. The herald then enters each house
in order, starting at the bottom, to invite the *kukusiut* to
assemble in X's. After he has been aided by the beating of 575*
sticks, four times repeated, the singers seat themselves behind 786*
the fire, where X joins them. The fiction is always carried
out that the call has brought him a song, which he pretends 556
to sing or recite to the singers who appear to be listening [787]
intently. Usually he says nothing, or talks about something
else, though sometimes the deception is furthered by X first
learning the words from the musicians and repeating them as
if teaching.

The theme is always of the supernatural patrons and how
the offering affects them. Since only *kukusiut* are present
and since they all understand the methods, this part of the
ceremony may be slighted.[20] The singers beat out and sing the
song a number of times, softly, as if practising, then more
loudly for the benefit of the audience, and finally at full
strength while X dances. Later in the season when many
kukusiut have performed, and there is danger of the songs
being forgotten, it is customary to sing them over on the night
of *[illegible]* while the owner of each song dances. Throughout, 575*
the whistle sounds, to the awe of the uninitiated in the other 786*

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[20] Even when no uninitiated are present, the *kukusiut* always surround their ceremonials with an air of mystery which ultimately affects themselves.

[The Cannibal Dance]

575 is writhing so violently that it appears as if it would be only a
796 few moments before he breaks loose and runs amuck. Closely
787 guarded by a band of *kukusiut*, the second Cannibal is now taken to every house of the village. He seems to be striving to enter, and to be restrained by the *kukusiut*. All the time he growls and calls out:

i —— .

The call of *ewe* can be used only by a Cannibal who has returned from the realms above. X meanwhile remains in his own house, to which the substitute is finally brought and the cannibalistic incubus returned by the call of *yo* —— four times repeated.

It was impossible to learn the details of a rite that occurs during the afternoon of this day. The singers have composed [533] two songs for X, one describing his adventures in the land aloft, and the other the return of the incubus which made him a flesh-eating brute. It appears probable that during the afternoon the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to learn these songs. It might be added that the ritual of a Cannibal dance differs widely from that of most *kusiut* ceremonies, since there is no potlatch and no [illegible]; the uninitiated believe that the whole affair is so serious that they are not surprised at ritualistic eccentricities.

In the evening the *kukusiut* are first summoned to X's house, and later the uninitiated. X is sitting close to the singers, with a number of *kukusiut* grouped around him in case he should become frenzied. The singers first sing over the [533] song describing the return of the Cannibal power, with the *kukusiut* joining in softly. The chorus of every Cannibal song consists of the words:

Hámdmai, hámdmai, hám', hám'.

[71] It is said that this same refrain is used in all Cannibal songs by the Bella Bella and Fort Rupert people; the Bella Coola, ignorant of the meaning of the words, affirm that they have none.

[533] X now talks in a low tone of voice to the singers, as if

telling them of his adventures, and presently they begin to 575* 796*
sing the song, as if they had just learnt the theme from X.
Frequently the deception is increased by X first learning the 787
song and repeating it to the singers in a voice sufficiently loud 533 ●
for the uninitiated to hear. The theme of this, and every other
song used for Cannibals, is of the land above and the dangers 575*
which X has survived. The singers add new facts and infor- 796*
mation to vary the monotony, but the subjects usually de- 787
scribed are:

The flat land above with its many trails and the river that 533
flows through it. 772

The gale constantly raging there which has blown the hair from X's head and the dirt from his body.

The trail across a yawning chasm over which his supernatural strength enabled him to leap. If a Cannibal dies when [766]
in concealment, the *kukusiut* bury the corpse secretly and tell [761]
the uninitiated that his power failed him on the other side of
the abyss so that he was unable to return.

Alquntäm under his various names.

How his patron helped him to escape the *Alskam*, "They [776]
of the Huge Jaws," evil beings who tried to kill X by sucking him into their gaping mouths.

The tide-flats which are found at the edge of the flat land above.

The kindly being *Sinanukälähm*, who gave him the neces- [776]
sary power to across the chasm. The uninitiated believe that [761]
unless a Cannibal meets this being he will be unable to return.

No one song for any Cannibal contains references to all these beings and events, but it is on these that the singers draw for their themes, always altering and adding to produce a fine effect.

On this occasion X does not dance,[44] and the uninitiated 575*
are soon expelled. As the *kukusiut* are eating, one marshal 796*
after another praises X for what he has done, and gives the 787
most solemn warnings to all as to the necessity of completing

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[44] There is difference of opinion on this point.

*575 the rites satisfactorily. Towards midnight the gathering
*796 breaks up.

Many of the younger and more athletic *kukusiut* sleep in
787 X's house, ready to assist him in the "Running Song." About
an hour and a half before dawn the uninitiated are awakened
by confused shouting and growling from X's house; above
the din rises X's ghastly, *xwa·*, *xwa·*, *xwa·*.

The shouting and noise lead to a spot at the rear of the
village, whither X has gone with the musicians and about
twenty *kukusiut*. Presently the singers begin to chant forth
[533] a new song, X's third, of which the theme is again the Cannibal's adventures in the land above; the uninitiated readily believe that he has taught the singers these words, though they had been unable to hear them from within the houses. There is more shouting as X runs to a second place behind the village, where the same song is used once more. When this has been repeated four times, X is led back to his house.

For four days the uninitiated remain in a constant state of terror. Although the expulsion of the cannibalistic incubus has tended to restore X's sanity, he is still wild, unable either to eat or sleep. Twice every night the madness conquers him, and he dashes from his house, barely restrained by his faithful *kukusiut* attendants. Eager for the flesh of human beings, he rushes at the doors, knocks them down if they should be closed, growling furiously, but his guardians always succeed in dragging him out before he does any real damage. This is repeated at every house of the village. Since the uninitiated are too frightened to look out, it often happens that a substitute takes the place of X on these semi-nightly excursions. During the day he remains within his own house, concealed, on a platform built for him between the fire and the back-room.

On the fourth evening, the fifth after his return from above, the *kukusiut* are summoned to his house to soothe him so that he will lie down on this platform and rest. The uninitiated, listening eagerly but fearfully, hear once more the sound of the frenzied stick-beating. The heralds inform them that X

[The Cannibal Dance]

*575 to the woods he is always accompanied by a number of *kukusiut*
*796 to drive the uninitiated from his path. If it were necessary
to perform the full rite just described, it would, in effect, limit
556 this dance to wealthy individuals. One reason why it is possible for a poor Bella Coola to become a Cannibal is that on his second, or subsequent, ceremonial, he can give an abbreviated rite, known as *lilstom*. The essence of this is
*575 that a kindly supernatural being has visited X on earth, saving
*796 him from the perils of going aloft. In this case the ritual
787 closely follows that of a normal *kusiut* dance and is concluded in four days.

After the *nebusam* rites of some other *kusiut* have been concluded, the call comes to X, who responds by growling and biting a few people. The uninitiated are at once expelled from his house. Thanks to the friendly intervention of the supernatural being, usually *Älquntäm*, X's mental powers are unimpaired so that he does not become infuriated and bites only a few individuals. As with ordinary *kusiut* rites, the singers
● [533] beat out a song composed for the occasion, describing the beneficent being who came down to X, and the *kukusiut* practise and learn it. No other songs are rehearsed on this night, owing to the extreme solemnity of the occasion; it is a Cannibal rite and nothing can take place at the same time.

The next day is *nusiutälsap*; a second song is composed and a number of the *kukusiut* are sent to collect wood for
[532] masks. Six of these must be constructed representing the fol-
[776] lowing supernatural beings:

Älquntäm, who has benignly interfered to save X from risking the dangers of a trip aloft.

Älqotleos, a supernatural man-eater from whom the call has come impelling X to eat flesh.

Three *Ällipaias*, "Holders," who restrain *Älqotleos*. In the land above their function corresponds to that of the *kukusiut* who guard a Cannibal.

Ana'likwalsaix.

In the evening, after the work has been allotted, X's two

[The Scratch Dance]

*575 *424 They[1] do not blacken their faces on receipt of a call as do most *kukusiut*.

[302] [787] The theme of their songs is of the land above, instead solely of their patrons.

● [533] On visiting a house where a *qotlum* or *nebusam* is taking place they sit with the Cannibals in one of the back corners; this group is given food before any of the other guests.

They do not exercise their prerogative on fellow-Scratchers, Cannibals, or Breakers.

[787] They are liable to frenzy both when the call is upon them and after its departure. In such cases they run forth, apparently guarded and restrained by other *kukusiut*, and rush into every house to frighten the uninitiated.

They must recompense those whom they have scratched.

[578] They act as peace-makers among the *kukusiut*, since the necessity of accompanying a Scratcher who pretends to be frenzied overrules all petty causes of strife.

[554] Though any definite concept of graded rank in the *kusiut* society is quite foreign to the Bella Coola, it is generally felt that Scratchers and Breakers are only slightly less important than Cannibals. [776] The patron of every Scratcher is *Sno'olxults Älquntäm*, one of the sons of *Älquntäm*; this supernatural being scratches the supernatural ones in the land above, and his father alone can restrain him. The prerogative is fairly common, and it is probable that in early days there was at least one Scratcher in every village.

*575 *796 [424] The following account of the ritual was obtained from one of the Bella Coola marshals and describes the manner in which the dance should have been performed by the Scratcher, *Älushnaix*, his daughter's daughter's son, who had recently obtained the prerogative formerly possessed by his deceased mother's father. It will be convenient to refer to *Älushnaix* as X and use the present tense in recording the proper ritual, though it was largely omitted on the last occasion the dance was given.

X arranges a suitable day with the marshals for receiving

[1] [i.e., - the Scratchers - ANALYST]

[The Scratch Dance]

his call, and when this has been settled, he informs those *kukusiut* 575* whom he plans to honour by scratching. Since each will 796* have to be recompensed for allowing X to display his prerogative, their number depends on X's wealth. Early in the [424] morning of the day chosen, which is always immediately after the *nebusam* of some other *kusiut*, the call comes, and X gives a low hoot. At once he starts wildly rushing around and scratching, so that the uninitiated are only too willing to flee from his terrifying presence. Throughout the day X is escorted by a number of *kukusiut* to every house, where he rages around the fire, throwing his arms to and fro in an infuriated manner, sometimes scratching one of his fellows, but more often merely acting as if he desired to do so. The uninitiated hide within the bedrooms, greatly impressed by what they see if they dare to look forth.

Towards evening the *kukusiut* are summoned to X's house, where a dramatic representation, into which the members fully enter, is made of binding him as if he were a wild animal or a lunatic. A rope is stretched around the fire, held by the *kukusiut*, with X inside. He pretends to be trying to escape, while the rope-holders bend down and move around to hold him within their bonds. Meanwhile a shaman, or some senior [757] *kusiut*, leads a frenzied beating of sticks which is four times repeated, to cure the madness. A *kusiut* then grasps the Scratcher's face and moves his mouth four times, to make sure that his jaws can move properly; the meaning of this is unknown. X now takes one of the beating-sticks and sits down among the singers as if about to teach them both tune and words of a song describing his knowledge of the land above, derived from his call. For a few moments he beats sanely, and appears to speak in a rational manner, but soon he goes off in a wild frenzy of senseless pounding. *Haip, haip*, cry the *kukusiut* to soothe him. After this has been several times repeated, the singers announce that they have learnt X's song, [533] though of course, they have composed one themselves in readiness for the occasion. They now sing it; the audience listens,

[The Scratch Dance]

* 575 and the heralds keep telling all to be attentive. The chorus
* 796 for every Scratcher's song consists of the supposedly meaning-
[533 less words, *'aii*, *'aii*, as if a child were crying. It is said that the
● same refrain is used for Scratch dances by every coastal tribe.
171] After this practice the singers chant forth X's song more
loudly, the audience joins in, and he dances. The Scratch
* 575 dance differs from all other *kusiut* ones in that there are no
* 796 fixed movements, with the exception of keeping time to the
535 beating of sticks with the feet. The dancer sometimes bends down and forward, with arms closely pressed between his legs, or he bends back with arms thrown upwards; to and fro and back and forth he goes with high steps or short mincing ones, with hops or jumps, his arms waving like the arms of a windmill. The best Scratch dancer is the one who can put most action and originality into his movements. The weird effect is increased by moving the facial muscles to cause strange grim-
* 575 aces. Four *kukusiut*, two before and two behind, accompany
X. At intervals he becomes excited and seizes his own hair
* 796 as if in internal agony, whereupon his guardians press the back of his neck and call *hap* to soothe him. His dance completed, he sits down, and no other performers follow him. The
[431] presents provided by X and his relatives are then distributed,
those scratched and the song makers being the chief recipients, although everyone receives something. Then there is the usual meal, accompanied by admonitions from the marshals, followed by X dancing once more to his song.

Unlike most *kusiut* ceremonials, this does not complete the night's rites. Accompanied by a number of *kukusiut*, X visits every house in the village, and dances around the fire with wildly waving arms while the whistle sounds eerily. Since the
[535] musicians do not beat time, his dance is without rhythmic
qualities, otherwise it follows the lack of pattern just described. When he is brought back to his own house, the frenzied beating of sticks is twice repeated to soothe him, and water is thrown over him. Thus pacified, X goes to sleep and the *kukusiut* quietly disperse.

[The Scratch Dance]

obey one prohibition; he must not sleep with his wife for four 575*
days. 796*

Like a Cannibal, X is liable to frenzy for the rest of the [834]
ceremonial season. During this period he remains secluded
within his house, and the uninitiated willingly avoid him, [828]
believing him to be mentally deranged. He attends every *kusiut* dance, where his latent madness helps to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kimsquit or *Täl·io* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and scratches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be pacified in the same manner. A Scratcher always saves goods to recompense scratched foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back-room of his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites him to frenzy and he scratches them, irrespective of the time of year.

It might be mentioned that some Scratcher names are indicative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause of Fear," have reference to his prowess. [551]

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the fear which *kusiut* dances 575*
cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the 796*
Cannibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances. *Kukusiut* with these 424
three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members [781]
of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but
similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic [554]
association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the Scratch and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share [302]
with Cannibals and Scratchers the prerogatives of not blackening their faces; of having as theme for their songs the land [533] [264]

[The Breaker Dance]

*575 above; of sitting in one of the back corners and receiving the
*796 first food at ritual meals; of paying those on whom they
[424] exercise their prerogative, and of liability to frenzy on arrival
[533] of strangers. This last prerogative, if it may be so termed,
[264] lasts for the ceremonial season, and in the case of a novice,
for the following summer as well. Moreover, Breakers do not
destroy the goods of fellow-Breakers, Scratchers, or Cannibals.

*575 In view of the similarity of this rite to those already de-
*796 scribed, no effort was made to collect full details. Different
424 Breakers have minor variations in ritual, similar to those al-
539 ready illustrated. The following is an account of the manner
in which the Breaker, *Sẋek* of *Snuləli*, performed the rite a number of years ago. As on previous occasions, it will be convenient to use the present tense, and to refer to the dancer as X. *Sẋek* gave the following account of the origin of his prerogative.

Long, long ago, soon after the first people had come to this earth, a marriage was about to take place in the village of *Snull·ul*. At that distant period the people were so powerful that they could themselves initiate *kusiut* dances, and the bridegroom determined to do so in honour of the event. He chose to imitate the actions of *Sänollẋumuləlts Älquntäm*, one of *Älquntäm*'s sons, whom he remembered having seen throwing stones in his father's house before he, the bridegroom, was sent down to this world.[43] When goods were piled up ready for distribution as marriage presents, the man began to hurl stones around; one of them ricochetted from a box, struck his bride and killed her. This unforeseen accident solved the question of his name, as by universal consent it was decided that he should be called, *Sẋek*, "He of the Faulty Aim."

Since that time a law has been enforced that no Breaker may throw a rock except ceremonially during his dance, and the marshals punish one who disobeys this injunction. If a Breaker is in the forest with a number
[231] of *kukusiut*, it does not matter if he fails to uphold this tradition; the essential is that the uninitiated do not see him cast a stone, even at a yelping dog, the usual reason for doing so in Bella Coola.

*575 When X wishes to dance he must first obtain the consent of
*796 the marshals in the usual manner. He also arranges with
kukusiut to have boxes and other wooden objects placed within

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[776] [43] This being is also called *[illegible]*, "The Cherished One."

[The Breaker Dance]

the house to serve as targets, and stones as ammunition. As 575*
soon as the call comes, X cries out, begins to throw stones at 796*
these objects, and the uninitiated are at once expelled. X is
usually led, closely guarded, to every house where he casts [787]
more rocks, and may break a number of utensils. Since it is
well known that, under normal circumstances, he must never
throw a stone, the uninitiated are convinced that he must
indeed be animated by a strange power. This being *Isuxtämem*,
the *kukusiut* gather in X's house during the evening to learn 575*
and practise one, or sometimes two, songs for him. If X is a 796*
novice, the theme is of his ancestor and the accident which 533
originated the dance; on later occasions it is of his patron and
the land above. All Breakers do not have *Sänollxumuldlts*
Älquntäm as patron; some have *Snukilmäls*, a supernatural
being who causes wealth to curl up and come to him. The
chorus is the same as for Scratchers, the meaningless words,
'aii, 'aii. It is said that this same refrain is used by the Breakers
of all coastal tribes, so that their songs can be distinguished
from those of Scratchers only by the words. With the food, 575*
presents are given to recompense those on whom X has dis- 796*
played his prerogative, that is, those whose utensils have been
broken. Sometimes canoes and other valuable objects are [431]
destroyed by Breakers, depending entirely on their desire to [424]
exhibit their right.

Next morning, *nusiutälsap*, X again becomes frenzied and
rushes from house to house, destroying property. Of course
this is later paid for, but the uninitiated have no idea that
arrangements had been made for the boxes and other objects
to be placed in suitable spots. During the day a number of 575*
kukusiut are sent to collect wood for nine masks. When mem- 796*
bers of the society gather in the evening the songs are prac- 532
tised, and the making of the masks allotted. One of these is
of *Sänollxumuldlts Älquntäm*, four are of Breakers in the land 424
above,[*] four of supernatural beings who sing there for the 776
supernatural Breakers, and one of the inevitable *Äno'likwo-*tsaix.

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[*] The relation of these Breakers to the patron is not clear.

[The Stomach- Cutting Dance]

in the village announcing that a call has come to X. Mean- 575*
while forty or fifty *kukusiut* have surrounded X and accompany 796*
him as he leaves his home and proceeds to the end of the village 787
furthest downstream. He enters the lowest house, followed by
his escort, and stops before the central fire to call out:

"Please say what you want; I will do it."

He circles the fire, sunwise, repeats his call a second time
and leaves. The same procedure is repeated in every house
in the village, in order from bottom to top, before he returns
to his own home. The uninitiated are told that some power
has come upon him, but that it is so strange that even he
cannot comprehend it. After a short pause, X again sallies
forth, accompanied as before, and calls twice in every house
of the village. The same ritual is repeated a third time, but
on the fourth round, which soon follows, he carries a knife in
his hand. Thus it becomes plain to all that X has received
power enabling him to have his stomach cut, and the *kukusiut*
show signs of grief at the danger to which their fellow is about
to be exposed. Needless to say, the delay in interpreting the [781]
call adds to the mystification of the uninitiated, and their
wonder at X's power. The heralds do their part by repeating
his words with their own comments.

When X finally returns to his own house the heralds sum- 575*
mon all the *kukusiut* to it and the customary ritual of *lsuxtämem* 796*
takes place. The singers beat out and practise a song com- 533
posed by one of their members for X, the audience listens
attentively and then practises it until all are proficient. The
theme of every *kusiotem* song is of the land above and the
supernatural beings resident there. The wordless chorus con-
sists of *wai'aiye'iu*, which the Bella Coola state is the refrain
of all *kusiatem* dances up and down the coast.

The second day, *nusiutálsap*, a second song is composed 575*
and a party sent to the forest to bring in wood suitable for 796*
masks. In the evening part of the work is allotted[44] and the 532
songs practised. For *kusiotem* dances, in addition to masks, a [533]

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[44] Some is kept for a later distribution.

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

be slaughtered before one is found with skin to match.[41] The 575*
marshals carefully supervise all these arrangements, but of 796*
course on this night the work alone is allotted. The entrails of [281]
several dogs are kept and worn by X between his false stomach
and the wooden frame.

After the allotment of tasks in connection with the mech- 575*
anical work required, the marshals ask four women to come 796*
forward. Those selected are usually old people with good
voices who, from long experience at the dances, have mastered 533
the two[42] songs used at each *kusiotem* dance. The theme of these never varies and is believed to have been handed down from the distant past. No prerogative is attached; the marshals and singers merely choose four women whom they think will be good performers. The songs resemble those sung at mourning ceremonies; in fact, they are used with that significance when X has been "killed" by disembowelling. The singers, the women chosen, the marshals, and any other *kakusiut* who feel competent to do so, discuss in an animated manner the exact wording and tunes of the songs. Then the musicians beat out the time and the women sing one after another, while the audience drones. In view of the solemnity of the occasion, it often happens that senior singers from adjacent villages are invited to be present to render assistance. The necessity for practising X's songs, apportioning the carpentry, and rehearsing the mourning songs has taken up more time than is usual on a *nusiutâlcap* night, and it is late before all is completed. Then, after the usual meal and admonishments, the people disperse.

Early the following morning the carpenters and those to 575*
whom work has been allotted gather early in X's house. A 796*
band, about two feet long, composed of alternate strands of 211
dyed and undyed cedar-bark is prepared and placed on the

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[41] Informants offered no explanation as to why this wholesale slaughter of dogs failed to arouse curiosity and suspicion in the uninitiated. [781]

[42] Or four; there was difference of opinion among Bella Coola informants on this point.

*575 *796 [211] outside of the house above the central doorway. The middle of the strip is pressed together so that it forms a projecting point, some four inches in length. This sign is a warning to the uninitiated that the *kukusiut* are working within, and none but a member of the society must enter or even pass on the sidewalk outside the door.[69] The central fire is moved forward to leave a larger space than usual between it and the back-room, and two mattings are raised to form two enclosures, one in each of the rear corners.

All day the carpenters work feverishly, and in the evening the *kukusiut* are once again summoned. When last performed, the rite on *qotlhm* was curtailed, and informants could give only [533] an outline of the proper procedure. It appears that X's two songs are practised, as well as the two mourning songs sung by the chosen women. Then all sit silent as if in grief, while the women occasionally utter mournful ejaculations, dreading the danger to which X will be exposed. At this juncture the uninitiated are summoned; they are impressed by the gravity and obvious fears shown even by the members of the powerful *kusiut* society. In the tense silence, one of the *änuyax* suddenly bursts forth:

"I will get my puppet-patron and bring him near so that he will be available tomorrow."

He reaches up his arms and makes the motions of drawing something towards him from above, while the *kukusiut* women drone and the singers and others provided with sticks keep up a clamorous beating on the floor. Presently another *änuyax* does likewise, and so on until as many as wish to do so have drawn down their puppet-patrons. The heralds maintain a running fire of comments to aid in impressing non-members. The customary lengthy dancing of *qotlhm* is omitted, and the uninitiated are expelled at once. The *kukusiut* have the usual

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[532] [69] If it is necessary to make numerous puppets this band may be placed in position the previous evening and the carpenters start work a day earlier on the more important tasks.

[The Stomach- Cutting Dance]

*575 *796 dangerous. Unless he is restored to life before dawn we will slay you."

The other uninitiated marvel that any of their number should be bold enough to taunt the *kukusiut*, ignorant of the fact that those who do so are really spies whose part in the performance has long since been arranged by the marshals. [688] Instances are remembered when the wooden or copper frame was defective and the performer was killed; in such a case the spies actually slew one or more *kukusiut* to preserve the prestige of the society. Exact details were unobtainable, but it seems clear that the victims were selected with the aid of the marshals during the night; they were, of course, men of little importance in the community.

The spies prevent anyone from leaving the house and gradually the din subsides, except for the constant wailing of the women, particularly X's relatives. The *kukusiut*, granted a respite until dawn, allow some of the uninitiated to come forward and pass sunwise around the fire to see the corpse of X with the bloody entrails exposed. *575 *796 ●533 539 At this juncture, the old women selected for the purpose sing the mourning song, of which the words and tune never vary; they are believed to have been handed down from time immemorial. The theme is of *Snitsmän a*, a kindly supernatural woman[10] who restores to life *kukusiut* killed in the performance of their rites. The singer in the upper, eastern, rear corner of the house sings the following words:

Nanaismtsam-iswakatsk' | *yaa disiaiyākmidjatsa* | *siyalaqailaaals*
Perhaps you[11] saw correctly[12] | hence you did so;[13] | it is too much
tamanaitsiyakaltsi
that has been given to you.[14]

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[10] Some informants state that there are several of these beings.

[11] Referring to X.

[12] Each vertical line marks the limit of a word or word-cluster, emphasized in singing, and the translation of it.

[13] That is: "You performed your dance in accordance with what you saw."

[14] That is: "You have received power that is too great and too dangerous." The specific reference is to the knife.

After a short interval, she is answered by the singer in the 575*
lower, western, rear corner of the house as follows: 796*

Saqankotsrānitmawit	*itlasnitsman·aatdja*	*skāpālpālyālesdus*
Let there come to earth	the voice of *Snitsmān·a*	to revive

diyālākaipsm·ilsutdai 533 ●
the one who has so injured himself. 539

The general meaning of this song is obvious, although there
are several obscure expressions which serve to increase the
wonder and fear of the uninitiated. Silence follows the singing, 575*
then whistling is heard and a herald announces that one of the 796*
puppet-patrons inserted into X has left him and gone to the 787
region above. Similar whistling announces the departure of
others at intervals. When several have done so, it is time for
the first to return. A thud, made by a hidden accomplice,
is heard on the roof and whistling breaks out afresh. Sometimes
the puppet-patron returns to X, but more often to its
invoker, and the transference previously enacted is repeated
over the body of the dancer who continues to lie as if lifeless.
Now and then the uninitiated are invited forward to look at
him and they notice that the gaping wound is slowly closing,
an easy matter to arrange in the dim light of the house. At
intervals the puppet-patrons go and return from the land
above, and the proceedings are sometimes enlivened by the
owners telling a herald, who in turn informs the audience, what
the puppet-patron saw on its journey aloft. Usually each goes
and returns four times in the course of the night. Each of the [533]
women selected to sing the mourning songs performs once,
standing in a corner of the house and waving a wand wound
with alternate bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. So the 575*
long night passes. Towards dawn continuous whistling is 796*
heard. This is made by several men with a whistle apiece;
each begins to blow as soon as the breath of his partner is [776]
nearly exhausted. It is known to be the voice of *Snitsmān·a*.
In Kimsquit, but not in Bella Coola, this is the signal for the [184]
entry of the giant toad. Carpenters have made a wooden
figure of the amphibian and by means of concealed strings it is [532]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

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*575 *796 [593] made to hop towards X and bend four times over him. The wound gradually comes together, and the excitement grows ever greater. Those near X cry out that his little toes are moving, as indeed they are, then in succession his fourth, middle, first, and big toes begin to twitch convulsively. It is often difficult to find an assistant capable of moving his toes in the proper order.

"He is alive again," call the heralds, and some of the uninitiated come forward to watch the marvel of the dead man's toes moving.

*575 *796 593 X grows gradually stronger and begins to shake his hands as if he were trying to dance. Then, in a feeble voice, he begins to sing, though the only word which comes clearly is *Snitsmän-a*, the name of the supernatural woman through whose kindly mediation he has been restored to life. This song has actually been composed by the singers and taught by them to X preparatory to the rite. It resembles a shaman's, since it is assumed that X has practically been made a shaman by the intervention of *Snitsmän-a*. The singers pretend to be listening intently, and then chant it over, as if they had just learnt it, while X shakes his hands as if dancing. The wailing and weeping of the *kukusiut* women has given place to joy, and those who had been singing mourning songs dance in time to the music. *575 *796 787 One after the other the *awayur* who had cast their patrons into X now go to him to recall them. Each bends over him and pretends to extract something by pressure with cupped hands, at the same time crying out *haip, haip*.

Each *awayur* then goes through the motions of casting something up into the air with cries of the same nature; this serves to return his patron to the mysterious region whence it had come. *575 *796 The uninitiated are now expelled and the *kukusiut* soon follow, without receiving a meal.[illegible] Those who have taken a leading part in the ceremony usually linger with the marshals

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[illegible] According to one informant, the youth who cut X's stomach was formerly detained and initiated into the ranks of the *kukusiut*.

[The Stomach-Cutting Dance]

*575 The singers have also composed a song for each of the *ānuyax*
*796 and these too must be practised, while the men dance or remain
●533 still as they think fit. Since no uninitiated are present the
affair is purely a rehearsal. The words of each of these songs is of the manner in which the patron helped X to survive his ordeal. By this time it is late and the *kukusiut* disperse after the usual meal and admonitions of the marshals.

*575 The next day, *qatlim*, the carpenters assemble early in the
*796 morning to start work. Since X is entitled to portray any of
532 the supernatural beings who are companions of his patron in
the land above, it follows that there is wide variation in his choice of masks to be manufactured. The principal supernatural beings are always shown, and any animals, since all are supernatural, can likewise be displayed. As usual, a few *kukusiut* are invited at midday to share the meal provided for the carpenters. The number of masks to be provided is often so great that two days or more are necessary for their completion, in which case no ceremony takes place on the night
[533] which would normally be *qatlim*; the *kukusiut* merely gather
and again practise their songs.

*575 But the day after is *qatlim*. At dusk the *kukusiut* are called
*796 in for a final rehearsal of the songs, and then a summons is sent
[515] to the uninitiated, who have been washing and beautifying
themselves in eager anticipation. In Kimsquit it is customary
[532] to hang some of the masks on a sloping pole behind the fire and
[184] the sight of these amazes the non-members. First the singers
[781] beat out the song of one of the women mourners and she dances
in time to it, while the heralds near the door keep up a steady
[585] stream of remarks, encouraging the woman to perform yet
[884] more strenuously and to have no modesty about shaking her
breasts. Then another of the women dances, followed in succession by the third and fourth if that is the number who sang the mourning songs. Next the *ānuyax* perform, each in succession accompanying the song composed for him. Now comes the central feature of the evening, the performance of X himself. As the singers strike up the shaman's song which he is

[The Beheading Dance]

*575 *796 532 tells them that he wants a mask made to represent his own face. The purpose for which it is destined is not mentioned, although there is no reason why the workmen, all of them *kukusiut*, should not know, as they actually do. X blackens his face a trifle, making it easier to depict, and lies down as model for the carpenters, who at once start chiselling masks. Each works independently, and usually finishes one, or even two or three, in a day. Five or six carpenters are labouring simultaneously, and when the first group of masks has been finished the marshals, and perhaps one or more influential chiefs as well, come to inspect the handicraft. The masks are laid out in a glade of the forest and the marshals make their criticisms.

"No. The nose is too long," they say of one mask, or,

"The cheeks are too full," with regard to another.

It is seldom that one of the first group of completed masks meets with their approval, but the next morning the carpenters try once more, with X again lying down as model. In the evening the marshals again examine the results. Hundreds (probably an exaggeration) are often made before one is found which satisfies every requirement, and if the carpenters fail to produce a realistic portrait, the rite cannot be carried out. The unsuccessful attempts are carefully hidden in the forest lest they should be seen by an uninitiated person. When *Oniemalhcaa* performed the rite, it was near the end of September before one of the carpenters succeeded in making a satisfactory model.

When the wooden representation has been completed, there is no further doubt about holding the ceremony, and one of the marshals, acting for X, summons the singers and other influential *kukusiut* to the secret meeting place for a discussion of preliminaries.[illegible] At this conference X tells the carpenters what he proposes to give them as presents for the work they have done for him; the concept of "pay" is entirely lacking although it is an essential part of the transaction. The singers are told

[465 431 533]

[illegible] Several details that apply to all [illegible] are here included which were inadvertently omitted by informants in describing the Stomach-Cutting dance.

to prepare three songs for X, choosing as themes the usual *kusiut* facts, with any additional details from the performer's myth which he may give them. The marshals instruct the maker of the successful mask to put hair on it and to attach a neck. 575* 786* 532 [533]

Four days later the same group again meets in the forest and X tries on the mask. When in position it rests on top of his own head with a stick passing down behind his occiput to his waist, where it is fastened by a belt; the general effect is that he has a superimposed head. Minor adjustments are suggested and made and X takes the mask, while the unsuccessful attempts are burnt. The marshals solemnly warn the participants of the seriousness of the rite in which they are about to engage. X conceals the mask with great care in some cleft of the mountains.

At intervals the singers meet and listen to the tunes each has composed, until they decide on the three most suitable, which they practise. [533]

Nothing more takes place until after the winter solstice, when X and the marshals select the exact date for the rite. After a potlatch, the marshals, singers, carpenters, and other *kusiut* functionaries remain in the house to rehearse the coming ceremony. The head is placed in position, supported by a framework of reeds which can be separated by strong pressure. When X raises his blanket over his own head, the mask portrait alone is visible, and only the wearer's extra height might cause suspicion. Around his "neck," to conceal the junction between X's own head and the false one, is tied a rope, so arranged that when pulled from each end, it slips, contracts on the reed framework, and ultimately cuts through it to separate the head from the body.[16] Raw meat and blood have been placed inside the "neck" so that, when the mask is pulled off, it appears as if X's flesh were exposed and he falls to the

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[16] The old man showed the writer the method of fastening, but I was unable to learn it. The rope, instead of being knotted, is wound within itself so that, when the framework is broken, it comes away untangled. [284]

[The Beheading Dance]

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[537]
X begins to move his fingers in a feeble way and to sing a shaman's song of which *[illegible]* is the only intelligible word. Of course the singers have previously taught him so much as is necessary of this type of composition, but the assumption is that he has just learnt it from *[illegible]* who has restored him to life. At this juncture two shamans often approach X and appear to project some power into him whereby he is able to rise and slowly circle the fire, supported by them. He claps his hands and sings in a weak voice, then stands behind the fire, still supported by the two shamans. This concludes the night's ceremony and the [illegible] tell the uninitiated to leave. The *kusiut* soon follow, except carpenters, singers, and any other influential members of the society who desire to wait to discuss the performance. [752]

As in the Stomach-Cutting dance, four days more of ceremonial follow the severing of X's head, with ritual corresponding to that of an ordinary *kusiut* performance. *[illegible]* comes on the night after the decapitation. The *kusiut* gather in good time to learn a song, the theme of which is X's patron, the supernatural being *[illegible]*, who has his head pulled off during dances in the land above. Mention is always made of *[illegible]* as well. No further description is required of the ceremonial on the nights of *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*. [784]

On *[illegible]* the first spectacle is a representation of what takes place in the land above. A mask has been prepared similar to the one worn by X, so that it can be pulled entirely from his body. This decapitation is performed by masked figures while the heralds and [illegible] explain that this is what is done aloft. The upper mask is hidden and the performer, who wears one identical with that which has been pulled from him, stands up to show the uninitiated that his head has been restored to him. Since the performers are supposed to be supernatural beings, it is possible for the beheaded one to be restored more rapidly than was possible when X, a mortal, suffered the same fate. After this deception there follows a

[The Fungus Dance]

575 776 [424] from a distance. When one of the participants has speared the object, it is drawn to shore and carried into the house. The uninitiated are then called in and enter, after covering their heads with blankets to prevent their spirits being drawn from them. None of the Bella Coola appears to know what governed, in the old days, the choice between these two performances.

575 776 778 The Fungus dance differs considerably from typical dance rituals already described. In part this is certainly due to decay of custom. When the writer witnessed the dance in the winter of 1923-4 it was carried out very crudely by [illegible], who, unwilling to admit this, was secretive about the proper ritual. Consequently, the performance of the dance was more of a hindrance than a help to the investigator. But even when full weight is given to this circumstance, it is clear that the Fungus dance is peculiar, particularly in the omission of mythical figures as referents.

575 776 821 [424] [535] 776 The ritual on that occasion was further complicated by the fact that [illegible] has also the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of either the sun or the moon, and insisted on this fact being brought out in connection with her songs. Four of them were composed instead of the usual two, and the supernatural beings described in them were:

[illegible]: under the name of [illegible].

The Moon.

[illegible]: This was introduced on account of being the place from which the salmon-bringer [illegible] to the sun. A mask representing this place of petrified person is always painted with salmon designs and the blanket of the dancer is decorated in the same way.

[535] The Fungus [illegible] that are so [illegible] the circle of the sun's course.

[illegible]: A supernatural being dwelling under the river who is able to eat a fungus in a dance held there. Detailed information about this creature could not be obtained.

[535] At any eclipse, no matter what the season of the year or

575 *
746 *
821
[593]
[826]

time of day, X must sing. The heralds call everyone to his house where the singers at once compose a new song, describing sun or moon as the case may be. They then sing it while X dances. Other kukusiut have the prerogative of dancing at an eclipse of the sun, and still others at an eclipse of the moon, but X claims to be the only one entitled to dance at both.

THE MYSTERY DANCE

575 *
746 *

Mystery is the key-note of all kusiut dances, but in the one termed *[illegible]* that element is brought home so forcibly to the uninitiated that it may aptly be called the Dance of Mystery. The Bella Coola explain that the word *[illegible]* means, roughly, "What Is Hidden." The essence of the rite, as explained to non-members, is that the supernatural power which has come to the dancer is embodied in three supernatural beings or in manifestations of them. Unless someone guesses its location, the performer will die. The Mystery dance is one of the most lengthy Bella Coola rituals and necessitates such a lavish expenditure of food that only a rich man can undertake it. [593]

Accounts were obtained of the ritual as carried out by [826] *[illegible]* of *[illegible]* and *[illegible]* of *[illegible]*, both of whom have the necessary prerogative. The details differ so slightly in the two localities that only one description need be given, and the dancer can be spoken of as X. The patron of most [177] Mystery dancers is *[illegible]*, but that of *[illegible]* is *[illegible]*, a supernatural being remarkable for his wild and erratic behaviour.

When X has stored up so much food as he thinks necessary, he calls the members together to tell them of his desire to dance. In case of consent, they admonish him not to hurry matters but to perform the rite slowly and properly. Preliminary arrangements include the choosing of four kukusiut gifted with good memories to store up in their minds the guesses made by the uninitiated. If many kukusiut are anxious to dance, X usually asks permission on the night of a

e present, to forget an answer is not a serious matter, but 575*
ter on the uninitiated are similarly invited to guess and then 796*
orrect remembering is essential. After this has gone on for
ome time, the singers strike up the tune of a song which they [533]
ave already composed for X.[30] The theme is always of the
ead above and the wordless chorus, which is said to be the [171]
ame for Mystery dancers all over the coast, is *'o'yaiwaia.*
he audience listen attentively so that they will be able to
oin in. When this has been sufficiently practised, a meal is
erved, amid the admonitions of the marshals. After a second
ractice of X's song, all is ready for a circuit of the village, the
act that it is about two or three o'clock in the morning being
f no consequence.

X leads the party, followed by a considerable number of
kusiut, among whom must always be his four remembran-
cers. They go to the lowest house of the village, which X
nters, carrying his stick horizontally above his head, and
roceeds with mincing steps to the central position behind the
re. He turns on himself and thrusts his staff to the floor
where, to the surprise of the uninitiated, it remains upright.
hey do not know that the end is pointed with bone and that
e has taken care to drive it down into a crack. The singers
ive out X's song, in which all the *kukusiut* join, but he does
ot dance. One of the singers next calls upon the people to
eat time furiously with sticks brought for the purpose, and X
ecomes excited, shrieking out:

"More! More!"

It is supposed that this clamour soothes his mental anguish.
 herald calls on members of the household to register their
uesses, uninitiated as well as *kukusiut* being encouraged to do
o. The remembrancers use their best efforts to bear in mind
he answers which are pouring in. One of the marshals ex-

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[30] The actual tune and some of the words may have been chosen by the singers during the day, or several of them have composed tunes and now hear them out in rotation until all have agreed on the best composition. Meanwhile the guests wait patiently, for time is of no moment to *kusiut* dancers.

[The Mystery Dance]

that the whistle of *Snitsmän-a* is heard. The uninitiated, hearing the sound from the other houses, realise that the kindly being is approaching and are not surprised when a herald presently comes around to announce that X has recovered. In Kimsquit, X's frenzy slowly leaves him, and from this point onwards there are no differences in ritual between the two localities. The singers beat out a new song, prepared in readiness, of which the theme is *Snitsmän-a*, "The Restorer." X dances to it, and afterwards to any four of the numerous songs previously composed for him. Then he sits down, the first time he has done so, in public at any rate, since the beginning of the rite. Food is next distributed, the marshals make their usual remarks and the *kukusiut* finally go to bed. From this point on, the ceremony follows the regular *kusiut* pattern; this occasion, when the riddles are solved, corresponds to *lustsimem*. The successful guesser is dealt with as an initiate in the manner already described. Some of the uninitiated sitting near the youth often realise that he has been prompted by his father, but they regard this as a mere sign of solicitude, assuming that the parent's supernatural power enabled him to solve the problem. It seems clear to them that he could not have known the answer for any length of time because, like others, he had many times guessed and failed. 575▼ 796▼ [184] [593]

The next day is *nuxiuntlitap*. In the morning all the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house to learn another new song; this corresponds to the second of a dance which lacks the long preliminaries of this one. A number of *kukusiut* accompany X to the forest to get the necessary wood for the masks. Mystery dancers have the right to exhibit any, and as many, supernatural beings as they please, hence a large amount of wood must be brought back. In the evening comes the allotment of work. X may do it himself, but usually he asks his father, or some other elderly relative to act on his behalf. Since all his relatives contribute, the actual distribution of labour is not a task in which X alone is concerned. *Anu'likwutsaix* must be portrayed, and the three best carpenters are entrusted with 575▼ 796▼ 592 [224]

[The Dance of Winwina]

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796*

though perhaps you cannot hear him because *Winwina* is making so much noise."

The meaning of this statement is difficult even to surmise and the Bella Coola themselves appear to be ignorant of it. It is said that the words are archaic. The *kukusiut* women at once begin to drone and the uninitiated flee, sometimes falling over one another in their eagerness to escape from the house, for the whistles are sounding and X has had his call. An eloquent *kusiut* stands beside him, apparently listening to him, and at intervals whets the curiosity of the audience by saying:

"I will tell you all about it in a minute."

The person who appears to be listening is one who knows the story of *Winwina* and as soon as X has stopped, he proceeds to relate it to the audience,[38] as if he had just learnt it from the dancer. It is possible that even some of the *kukusiut* are deceived, but in any case they are so accustomed to acting that they practise it even when no uninitiated are present. The singers are especially attentive and presently begin to strike out a new song composed for the occasion. The theme is of *Winwina* himself and his bird crew, and of the lazy *Kāmdläikl*; the audience listens eagerly and practises the composition. Afterwards food is distributed amid admonitions of the marshals as is customary on the night of *kusiutmem*. [538]

Next morning a second song is practised for X, and then a number of *kukusiut* go with him to the forest to bring in the wood required for the ceremonial. In the evening members of the society assemble in X's house for the allotment of carpentry tasks. The most important requirement is a canoe, shaped like a bird, and with bird figures as members of the crew. Considerable ingenuity is displayed in the manufacture of this; it is large enough to fill most of the rear part of the house, and, being bottomless, can be made to move by men concealed within. Several carpenters usually work together at this task. X also orders wooden replicas of the different

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[38] Perhaps this is the reason that the origin myth of this dance is better remembered than most.

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[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

for the dance to start, and X suddenly cries out that he is feeling peculiar. The night selected is usually that of the [illegible] of some other *kusiut*, and X is at once escorted to his own house from which the uninitiated are expelled. For that night and the two following he remains concealed within, leaving only when necessary and taking care that no uninitiated see him. During the afternoon following the third night of concealment, a large number of *kukusiut* gather in X's home and escort him to the lowest house of the village. He goes around the fire shaking a rattle violently and calling out: 575 796

"More! More! Please say exactly what you want and I will do it."

The uninitiated have been told that X has been unable to comprehend the impending call, hence they have no difficulty in realising that this is a request to his supernatural patron to be more explicit. This appeal is repeated in every house of the village in order from bottom to top. The rite is so important that X often summons *kukusiut* from neighbouring towns and, on the occasion described, the dancer proceeded to *[illegible]* with his escort and there entered every dwelling with the same request that he had made in his own village. [28]

In the evening X returns to his home where presently the *kukusiut* gather from the villages that he visited. The uninitiated from adjacent houses hear whistling so are not surprised when heralds enter to announce that a call has come to X. The ritual is of the regular *[illegible]* pattern and a song is composed and practised; the theme is of X's ability to visit the land above but the type is that of a shaman's song. The ritual concludes in the usual manner. [533]

The next day, [illegible], the customary raised enclosure is erected and a number of *kukusiut* gather wood in the forest. In the evening the carpenters are requested to make a long ladder, the only paraphernalia required. The evening's ritual ends as usual. [817]

The patron for this dance could not be learnt.

[The Dance of Thunder]

verbal to physical arguments, and one occasion is remembered when the latter was shoved from a canoe into the river. 595* 796*

In the evening the *kukusiut* are first called in, to be followed by the uninitiated in due course. Thunder dances in the manner already described, though, if possible, with even more vigour and abandon than when he was only one of the performers in the Mystery dance. As recorded in that dance, he performs twice, on the second occasion carrying a rattle containing burning shreds of cedar-bark. After each circuit of the central fire, Rainwater appears and drenches the audience, as rain accompanies a thunder-storm. The dramatic skill displayed is always impressive, and a touch of comic realism is added by the irreverent remarks of *[illegible]* who does his utmost to belittle Thunder. 776 [522]

The time-beater for the expert dancer, *[illegible]*, appears after Rainwater. When the ceremonial is carried out with care, he wears a skull mask to show that he is a ghost who has come from the land below in answer to the call of *Alkuntam*. As he beats time he sings a wordless song of the dead. The skill of *[illegible]* as a dancer is due to the fact that he is a yearling mountain goat among supernatural beings. The uninitiated look forward with eagerness to witnessing a remarkable dance, but after a few violent contortions the performer withdraws, followed by the musician. [532] [533]

It would be needless repetition to enumerate all the supernatural beings who follow, so mention will be made only of those who are considered especially appropriate to the Thunder dance and who are accordingly shown on almost all occasions. Winter Wren is a masked figure which hops about in an agile manner similar to that of the bird on this earth, and Rabbit likewise imitates the movements of an earthly rabbit. *[illegible]* explains to the uninitiated that Thunder would like to taste the flesh of mortals but that he is too big and too hot to approach them, so sends Mosquito as his messenger. The masked figure representing that insect carries a stick about one foot in length beneath his blanket, and runs around the house [532] [325]

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[The Dance of Thunder]

the uninitiated are expelled. If several *kukusiut* in the same 575*
village are protégés of Thunder, each makes a circuit inde- 796*
pendently, but they agree to meet afterwards in the house of one of their number. Here all members of the society assemble for a meal provided hurriedly by X, or to a number of meals if several have Thunder as patron; in this case there is no pooling of food. The marshals take the opportunity of giving their customary admonitions, as if it were midwinter. Next the [533]
singers combine their ideas and beat out a new song of which the theme is Thunder who never rests; it is worded as if X were speaking and describing what his patron is doing. This song is sung and resung until all present have learnt both tune and words. If there are several *kukusiut* with Thunder as [593]
patron, a song is made for each and practised in the same manner.

When all is ready, one of the heralds calls in the uninitiated. Each song is sung to the accompaniment of beating sticks while a dancer performs. Instead of X, this is an old man or woman who has not had a [illegible] for many years. Often the *kusiut* selected is so old that he or she can dance only with the support of a stick; no reason could be learnt for this surprising deviation from the usual practice. If several songs have been composed, a new dancer performs to each. After the last dance the uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* soon follow. Since [787]
no call has come, it follows that it is of a ceremonial, though not of a sacred nature, and does not take the regular course of winter dances. It is said to "make good the path of Thunder," the term employed being identical with that used for the dance on [illegible] after the burning of the masks.

Nothing more need be said about the Thunder dance, ex- 575*
cept to give the following origin myth: 796*

Long ago, long before the white man came to this land, but still longer 539
after the first ancestors, four brothers left Kimsquit to hunt mountain
goats on Mount [illegible], near the Kimsquit River.[illegible] It was September; 821

[illegible] This mountain is also known as hump-back Salmon Mountain; its shape [109]
resembles the fish in question and it is said that long ago, in the very beginning of time, a salmon became petrified there.

[the Ghost Dance]

*575 leave their bedrooms, but peer curiously and fearfully around
*796 the edge of the boards. Finally the party returns to X's house, whence the uninitiated hear the sound of sticks being beaten in a frenzied manner, but without the usual rhythmic conclusion. Each *kusiut* beats as he likes, because it is an affair
[775] of the dead with whom all things are queer and unnatural.

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The ghosts wash and take their places in X's house where the singers are working on a new song. The words, as if spoken by the dancer, describe the land of the dead; how everything is green there; how the river flows from west to east so that the sun travels upstream; how the shades wished to make him a chief, and deceived him by not giving proper presents; how he visited the various towns scattered along the river, finding the bone in one of the houses; and finally how the dead told him of any mistakes in ritual that had been committed in the Bella Coola villages, in Kimsquit, or in *Tāl'io*. This last is, of course, common knowledge, but the Ghost dance is the only *kusiut* ceremonial in which such information is used in the text of a song. Details are given, but the wording is so ambiguous that when the uninitiated later hear the song they do not comprehend its meaning. Since the *kukusiut* have concealed the error referred to, the necessity for veiled allusions is apparent. Everything connected with the Ghost dance is carried out in the reverse order; thus, the reference of X to presents which he did not receive is merely an intimation that he will presently bestow gifts on the singers and the other *kukusiut* who have assisted him. The wordless chorus of the tune consists of
[171] 'aiya'aewais, a phrase said to be the same for Ghost dances among all the coastal tribes. The singers practise this song while the audience listens attentively; then it is sung vigorously by all, while X dances. His style differs from that of all other *kukusiut*; first one arm and then the other is kept extended, downwards, at an angle in front of the body with the forefinger pointing to the ground. This method of dancing is the prerogative of all Ghost dancers and provides a variation to the somewhat monotonous performances on different

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pattern.

[The Ghost Dance]

qatlaw. When the dance has ended, X gives presents; first to each spectator, and then to those who have assisted him, starting with the singers. This is the last event of the evening and the *kukusiut* disperse. 575* 796* [431]

The factor of doing things in the reverse order appears not only in actions, but in the order of the ceremonies. Those just described, although at the beginning of the rite, resemble a *nulasem* in many respects. Consequently, it is not surprising that the next night is *qatlaw*. The singers are the first to assemble and they compose a second song for X, with the same theme but different words and tune to that already prepared. [593] ● Meanwhile the *kukusiut* are gathering and when they have learnt the new song, the uninitiated are summoned. No enclosure has been built, and X is much in evidence. His body [302] has been painted green with a preparation of grass rubbed in water, he wears the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a kind [292] of head-dress with a triangular projection over his forehead. His two songs are sung, and X dances vigorously to each in the manner just described. This is followed by the customary *qatlaw* ritual, *kusiut* after *kusiut* dancing as the singers beat out his two songs. Finally a Cannibal begins to growl fiercely in one of the rear corners and the uninitiated flee hurriedly. The *kukusiut* eat together, listening to the admonitions and remarks of the marshals, and then X dances once more. Among the 575* peculiarities of the Ghost dance is the fact that the call may 796* be returned at this point, or X may again become mad, according to the wishes of the marshals. 787 If they desire a further display of his insanity, he rushes out as soon as he has finished dancing and proceeds to the lowest house of the village. A number of *kukusiut* follow him and appear to be trying to prevent him from picking up handfuls of dirt from the floor and throwing them in all directions in an aimless manner. As a matter of fact his guardians take care that X hurls approximately the same amount in each house, as none of them is willing to have more damage done in his own house than in others. After a visit to each dwelling, the party returns to

[The Ghost Dance]

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[787] X's, where he is soothed by the *four times* repeated *frenzied* beating of sticks and his call returned whence it came.

During the rest of the ceremonial season X becomes mad at intervals and displays his insanity by rushing to every house and throwing dirt and sand. His *kukusiut* escort is always with him, and the procedure is identical with that already

[424] recorded. X makes no recompense for the damage inflicted, so it is probable that his fellows do not regard his dance as an unmitigated pleasure, but nothing can be done to deter him from exercising his prerogative.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL CHARMER

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[881] Although the Bella Coola are probably as moral as members of any other tribe, they enjoy humour of an obscene nature, and a dance which never fails to provide amusement is that of the Supernatural Charmer. The patron of this is *Sximsximōt*, a beautiful, unmarried, feminine being who is also termed *Aliqmās i* and *Nusaxmālsais*. She is thought to disregard the efforts of her supernatural relatives to restrain her, and comes to this earth where she bestows her favours not only on human beings, but on animals. Her *powrige* at Kimsquit is a young

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[424] man, *Łālisiadz*, at Bella Coola, a young woman, *Kwaslātmx*; like all other *kusiut* names these can be used either by man or woman. It is said that *Łālisiadz*'s prerogative is derived from the experience of an ancestor in past ages, whereas that of *Kwaslātmx* was initiated three generations ago by a very powerful chief. The ritual in each case is identical, so the dancer

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[582] can be referred to as X. Each has the prerogative of singing not only of *Sximsximōt*, but also of the being known as *Wixuistmōt*. Many masks are required at the rehearsals of either of these beings, as it is customary for X to perform with respect to *Sximsximōt* one year, and to *Wixuistmōt* at the same or a subsequent ceremonial season, though the actual songs always refer to both patrons.

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575 When X wishes to dance he consults the marshals, obtains their consent, and then makes final arrangements on, normally,

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the *gatlem* of another dancer. Next night the call comes to him in the ordinary manner, and the heralds go through the village announcing what has taken place. The uninitiated are expelled at once from X's house and the *kukusiut* presently assemble to listen to the song being composed by the singers. The theme is of *Sximoxtimd*; how she came down from above and travelled all over the world shamelessly luring men and animals; how various supernatural beings tried to restrain her without success; how she went to the house of *Sqtl* and was trying to seduce several young men living there when *Wixcaintimd* appeared and endeavoured to make her behave herself, but without avail. The song then describes *Wixcaintimd* who seems to be a warm wind, engaged in a never-ending duel with the cold winds.* No detailed description is required for the ritual of *swiwitlap*, when a second song with the same theme is composed, or of *gatlem*, since these follow the typical *kusiut* pattern. 575 796 [599] [796]

During the afternoon of *sukwam*, the *kukusiut* gather in X's house to try on the completed masks and make the final arrangements. Whistles sound so continuously that the uninitiated remain either within their own houses or near them, ready to hide in the bedrooms if necessary. Within X's house the carpenters are supervising the choice of masks; a [illegible] man able to speak like a woman is, as usual, chosen to represent *Anu'likmaitais*; another with similar qualifications is selected for *Sximoxtimd*, while the other masks can be worn by almost anyone. Presently a strange procession leaves X's house and enters the lowest house of the village where the uninitiated hasten into the inner rooms, but watch proceedings through cracks between the boards. First comes X himself, his face blackened and wearing the usual collar. He remains standing near the door and watches as *Sximoxtimd* enters and slowly proceeds around the central fire; she wears a mask representing a young and beautiful woman. Behind her come her lovers, [599]

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*Definite information concerning the classification of *Wixcaintimd* could not be obtained.

[The Dance of the Supernatural Charmer]

ever since. Pity for strangers is not a strong Bella Coola 575*
sentiment and the audience laughs heartily at the spectacle 796*
of the doddering old man in vain pursuit of a heartless woman [522]
who is forever young. A considerable number of *kukusiut* [609]
always accompany the procession, pushing their way out with [152]
Anu'tkmlaix and *Sinqotsa*. Several of these carry whistles
concealed beneath their arm-pits and the noise of these serves
to maintain the dignity of the occasion.

So many masked figures are used that all cannot accompany *Snxinaxsimk* into each house. Those unable to do so remain on the sidewalk outside, holding one of her lovers, a live male mountain goat. At the next house another group of the charmer's victims enters and the ceremonial just described is repeated. The same is carried out at every dwelling in the village. *Snxinaxsimk* and her followers stop a few minutes in X's house before starting out on a second round, in which the same ritual is carried out. This is done twice more, so that each house is visited four times.

By this time dusk has fallen and all the *kukusiut* except those acting as escort to X have gathered in his house. Presently the uninitiated are called in. *Snxinaxsimk* is standing on a low box behind the fire, encouraging her masked lovers to come to her, and bestowing her affections indiscriminately in a heartless manner. The rivals shove each other to and fro realistically and though blows are not actually exchanged,
great care must be taken to prevent masks from falling in such [522]
encounters. The efforts of the unfortunate *Sinqotsa* to reach his desire are always a source of merriment. *Anu'tk-mlaix* as usual explains the significance of it all. Sometimes
a cradle is brought in, over which *Snxinaxsimk* croons while a [533] ●
song is sung, describing her as the mother of many creatures of whom the fathers are animals. It is uncertain whether this part of the ceremony takes place before or after the sham fight or, indeed, whether it is not another type of *sxlaxem* which X can use as well. The ritual concludes in the normal way with the expulsion of the uninitiated, the dancing of *Anu'tkmlaix*,

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the burning of the masks, the dancing of X, and the return of his call.

[533] During a later season when a call comes to X, the ritual deals with *Winwaintmak*, but only the outline of the ceremony could be learnt. The theme of the two songs composed for the occasion is of *Winwaintmak* and how he fights with his enemies, the cold winds. His only weapons are fierce roaring and a belligerent expression, but these suffice to keep his adversaries at a distance, especially his principal foeman, the evil wind, *Nusdápos*.

There is no deviation from the usual type of *kusiut* ceremonial until the day of *sabasem* when a fight takes place at the river's edge where all, including the uninitiated, can see it. The *kukusiut* of the village are divided into two parties, of which one comes from upstream, the other from below, meeting in front of X's house. The leaderless combatants shove each other two and fro, without actually coming to blows. *Winwaintmak* remains behind one party, encouraging his warriors by his roars, while *Nusdápos* spurs on his supporters by valiant gestures, without daring to come too near the combat. *Winwaintmak*'s followers finally win the day and drive back the other party. *Āno'likwalsais* is much in evidence, explaining to the uninitiated, who cower in the shelter of the houses, that this is the way in which the winds fight in the land above. That evening non-members are called to X's house where they witness a combat of the same type. The ceremonial concludes in the usual manner.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL LOVER

[824] Another *kusiut* ceremonial which closely resembles that just described is the prerogative of a young Bella Coola woman named Ṣpu'nāk' who inherited it from her mother's mother's sister's son. It will be convenient to refer to her as X.

When X wishes to dance, she first obtains the consent of the marshals in the normal manner and chooses a convenient [533] day for the coming of her call. Then the *kukusiut* gather in

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[The Dance of the Supernatural Lover]

her house while the singers compose a new song. The theme is of her patron, the young male being, *K'wat iwal a*, "The Big One." It describes how he came from above and went far and near over the earth in lustful pursuit of women, how each victim fell in love with her seducer so that she followed him in all his wanderings, how Loon befriended him, and how he exchanged his blanket for a covering of abalone-shells. 575* 796* [538] [776]

On *nusiatálsap* when the *kukusiut* as usual go to the forest, they bring back not only wood for masks but also the trunk of a large cedar tree, at which the carpenters work during the two succeeding days. On *nuhusam* a parade occurs of the supernatural beings similar to that in the dance of the Supernatural Charmer, but the masked figures represent women, not men, of the different coastal tribes. *K'wat iwal a* leads the procession and pays no more attention to his mistresses than did *Snimxa-iwalt* to her would-be lovers. There is the same licence for lewd remarks, of which *K'wat iwal a* takes full advantage when he calls the attention of the young men to his following, and asks them how many mistresses each has had. [592] [781] [832]

In the evening the uninitiated are called to X's house where the first object they see is the tree-trunk, converted by the carpenters into an enormous bird. Wooden wings and a loon's head have been provided and the whole is painted in imitation of a loon's plumage. *K'wat iwal a* is in evidence, wearing a bird disguise. Presently a matting enclosure in one of the rear corners of the house is thrown open, and the uninitiated see the throng of his mistresses who rush forth, almost coming to blows in their eagerness to reach their seducer. *Anu'lkmalsaix* stands on one side and explains the significance. After the mock combat has lasted for a few minutes, a Cannibal begins to growl and the uninitiated hurry out. The ceremonial then concludes in the usual manner. [532]

This dance differs from all other *kusiut* rites in one respect, since the call can come to X several times during a single ceremonial season. Of course there is no compulsion; she uses her own discretion as to whether she dance more than once, [424]

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796 but a proud and energetic dancer sometimes repeats a ceremony three or four times.
[424]

THE SUN DANCE[illegible]

[776] [18-1] One of the forms in which *Alquntäm* appears is that of the Sun, and in that case he is referred to as *Snuxalatla*. Considering the importance of this deity, it is rather surprising that the *kusiut* dance of which he is patron is not more impressive. Efforts were made to obtain full details of the ceremonial from several informants, but only a number of incidents and a bare [24] outline could be obtained. In part this was due to the fact that none of the informants[illegible] were themselves protégés of *Alquntäm*, but this is not in itself sufficient to explain the comparative unimportance of the dance, since full accounts were obtained of other rituals from those who did not own them.

[424] [551] Nothing was learnt of the origin of any of the Sun dance prerogatives, except that ancestors of the owners obtained them from *Alquntäm*. It is a common right, and *kukusiut* having *Alquntäm* as patron are found in every village, among them being *Qwaliti i* of *Tcomtl*, and *Nusnutliwalsis* of *Nusqelst*. As far as could be ascertained, the ritual of various Sun dance performances is identical, so one account will suffice and the dancer can be termed X.

Like other *kusiut* dancers, X can perform at any time during the ceremonial season, subject to the approval of the marshals. The call comes to him in the normal manner, the uninitiated are expelled, and the *kukusiut* gather in his house to practise the songs which the singers have just composed. The theme [533] [776] is of *Alquntäm*, describing his manifold functions, and particularly that of guiding the Sun. The following day a second song with similar theme is composed, and in the evening the masks are allotted for the manufacture of masks. Four are re- [532] [171] quired; a large one representing *Alquntäm* himself, one of

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[illegible] Needless to say, no connection or similarity is implied with the dance of the same name in other areas.

[illegible] Except one man who had forgotten all details since his conversion to Christianity many years before.

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[The Sun Dance]

575 #796 dance of *Nuákenum* is omitted owing to the large expenditure required, X must sing, without a call, in conjunction with the *Wi·a* dancer. In this case also the details are lacking.

[824] [821] Likewise at the winter solstice, when the tarrying *Älquntäm* at last enters *Nusqalsumitx* to greet the waiting supernatural *kukusiut*, it is incumbent on his protégé to perform in his honour below. The singers are always ready with a new song for the occasion, and in the evening his fellows assemble in his house to learn it. X wears the usual ceremonial collar, but he lacks the awe-inspiring qualities of a *kusiut* who has had a call. When the song has been sufficiently practised, the uninitiated are brought in to listen to it and to watch the dancing of X. At the conclusion of the performance they are given a little food, provided by X, which they carry away while the *kukusiut* remain to eat at their ease and listen to the admonitions of the marshals. It is probable that the ritual carried out at the beginning of the ceremonial season is identical with the above. [821] One old man stated that long ago it was customary to dance in the same manner at the summer solstice; this might be expected, but confirmation was unobtainable.

575 #796 821 Like the protégé of Thunder, X is sometimes called upon to perform during the non-ceremonial season. But whereas a Thunder dancer acts when his patron is apparent by peals of sound, X must do so when his patron is invisible through an eclipse.* The ritual is almost identical with that already described for a Thunder dancer so nothing but additional details need be inserted. X visits every house shaking a rattle, which is not the case with Thunder dancers. After his circuit of the village, the *kukusiut* gather in his house where the singers are ● [533] composing a new song describing the phenomenon. The words explain that Eclipse, the supernatural being *Nuqalyx*, has blocked or destroyed the path of the Sun, and add how disastrous it would be if the Sun could not recover its way. Later on, the uninitiated are called in to watch X's dance which, like

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[796] [192] *The Bella Coola term both for "eclipse" and the being responsible is *Nuqalyx*, which also means "A Fire That Has Died Out."

This ceremony is an example of the great diversity in *kusiut* 575* dances. Instead of the usual patron in the land above, the 796* slave woman is considered to be definitely located on this earth, at a spot near *Stuix*. Moreover, the call comes through her actual appearance. The writer would have liked to learn further details of the dance, but they were unobtainable.

THE DANCE OF THE OTTER

Since every Bella Coola has, at the present time, some sort [424] of *kusiut* dance, it would have been possible to collect the details of a large number. Only the main outlines of the dances which follow were obtained, but it is hoped that the complexity of those already described will suffice to explain the scope of the *kusiut* society. In some cases the details were omitted to save time, in other cases the informant was ignorant of them. The latter reason is responsible for the sketchiness of the Otter dance.

This ritual is the prerogative of a *Snuloli kusiut*, *Xwodjew·i*, 575* "The Crash," a name which refers to the din when the first 796* *Sony·* collapsed in the beginning of time. Presumably one 424 of *Xwodjew·i*'s ancestors was present at the fall and chose the 551 name in consequence. The dancer's patron is the land otter, but the connection between this animal and the name has been forgotten, as the father of the performer frankly admitted. He suggested that probably one of his ancestors remembered having seen an otter before coming to this world, and chose it as patron for a dance which he instituted with respect to the name *Xwodjew·i*. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X.

X can perform at any convenient period during the cere- 575* monial season. When the call comes, the ritual of the first 796* three days follows normally, except that the songs used [533] are supposed to have been unaltered. Before *nohusam* the carpenters prepare a dummy otter, using a skin stretched over a wooden framework. A long rope is fastened to this and the figure thrown into the water so that it sways to and fro

[The Dance of the Dark-Shade]

preferably skilled carpenters. Heralds visit every house in 575*
the village informing all that X has gone to meet, or to wait 796*
for, Dark-Shade.

Meanwhile X and his companions are utilizing the last hours of daylight in collecting a large quantity of gum. They build a fire, and by its flickering light the dancer is coated with gum so carefully that even his teeth and nails are invisible; in this disguise he represents Dark-Shade. Early the following morning the singers and those *kukusiut* who have already danced during the current season set off on lashed canoes to meet X and his party whom they take on board. Waiting till the tide is favourable, the canoes are slowly poled up the river.
As they come in sight of the village, the singers strike up some [535]
well-known tune, and in time to it everyone on the platform [424]
between the canoes begins to dance, each using the style proper to his prerogative. It is an animated scene. The uninitiated watch the approach, and gaze with wonder upon the strange dark figure; it is all so uncanny that they need little urging from the *kukusiut* to withdraw to their houses, where they
peer curiously through chinks in the walls. Members of the 575*
society line the river bank and, as Dark-Shade draws near, one 796*
after another cries out that a call has come to him. The 787
marshals have previously decided who shall dance at this time and informed those selected; sometimes it is a *kusiut* who has already performed once during the season, or it may be a person who has not performed for many years.

All the *kukusiut* accompany Dark-Shade and her escort to 575*
X's house from which all uninitiated have long been expelled. 796*
The singers compose a new song of which the words are ar-
ranged as if Dark-Shade, not X, were speaking. The theme [533]
of one, used a number of years ago, is:

"Let X fetch me to visit mortals."

Unfortunately, the details of X's dance were unavailable. Dark-Shade herself remains for four days hidden within X's house, though he attends the ceremonies of other *kukusiut* and his presence there on the nights of *qatlm* and *nuhusam* is a

575 796 source of awe to the uninitiated, who marvel that a man can still appear like an ordinary mortal when he has just brought a supernatural visitor home. According to one informant who, however, is not well posted on *kusiut* matters, there is neither gathering nor *sulxam*, and Dark-Shade is merely sent away after four days. This may be the case, but the dance has not been carried out for many years, and the man frankly admitted that he did not know the details. It seems more likely that there [538] is some kind of ceremony, since a song would not be composed unless for a definite purpose.

575 796 787 424 The coming of Dark-Shade complicates the *kusiut* ceremonial since a number of dancers receive their calls simultaneously. In this case the ritual is carried out in unison which requires, for example, the composition of one song for each performer on *kusotimora*. Calls never come in this way to dancers with important or complicated prerogatives, but it is a useful means of dealing with those whose right is merely to sing of their patrons. On *sulxam* the patrons of all are displayed, a method which has the advantage of producing a dramatic effect which would be lacking if only one were in evidence. The coming of a call by means of Dark-Shade is called *nuilamlimut*, "Emerging from Below to Plain Sight." Another time when several calls may come simultaneously to different *kukusiut* is at the winter solstice when, on the entry of *Alquntäm*, the supernatural beings rush forth and some of them fall, causing calls to come to their human protégés.

THE DANCE OF THE STONE MAN

575 796 [776] [424] [551] [778] *Yayaxlmaa*, the man who was petrified with his Ocean Lake wife and four children at the beginning of time, is patron for a Kimsquit *kusiut* man named *K'ouxia*. His repository is just above high-water mark on the east side of Dean Channel, about five miles from its head, and about one hundred and fifty feet north of the legal fishing boundary. This is almost immediately opposite *Yayaxlmaa*'s station. The repository is beneath the ground, and its doorway is a boulder which becomes

Whiskeriod usually remains in the land above but sometimes visits this earth. He is patron for a *kusiut* who displays a mask representing him in characteristic form, the design of which is said never to vary. 775 776 776 821 532

THE DANCE OF THE EARTHQUAKE

The Bella Coola believe that an earthquake is caused by the earth slipping very slightly from the grasp of *[illegible]*. This being is patron for certain *kukusiut* and whenever a tremor occurs, his protégés call their ancestors and a dance is held. This may, of course, be at any season, and the ritual during spring or summer is identical with that described for dancers whose patrons are Thunder, the Sun, or the Moon. The theme of the song is of the manner in which *[illegible]* performs his function of holding the world. A call from *[illegible]* may also come in the normal manner to one of his protégés during the ceremonial season, but the ritual is of the usual type and merits no special description. In Kimsquit, *[illegible]* is patron to a *kusiut* named *[illegible]*. 824 530 551

THE DANCE OF TIDE-MEASURER

The height to which the tides shall rise is decided by a male supernatural being, *[illegible]*, "Tide-Measurer." He is patron of a *kusiut* named *[illegible]*, whose repository is near Bella Coola. One of *[illegible]*'s ancestors brought the rite with him from above in the beginning of time. The songs used at the dance describe how Tide-Measurer uses a stick in deciding how far the waters shall rise. During the day of *rehearsal* the uninitiated are told to go to their houses but, by peering round the corners and through chinks, as they always do, they are able to see a masked figure walk into the ocean, and thrust down to the bottom a stick which he carries. This is repeated four times during the day. 825 551 770 530

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL BULL-HEAD

Since any supernatural being can act as patron to *kusiut* dancers, and since all mammals and birds are, in a sense, super- 825 and one was held up by the bow paddler as the craft neared the shore to protect him and those behind from arrows and stones cast by slings. When not in use, shields were laid away in boxes with some white substance resembling flour.[1] On the shore of the fiord below Bella Coola, opposite Winter Bay, there are some localities of the same white clay; even now these are often spoken of as "The Shields of the Bella Coola." It is said that hostile raiders, seeing them, used to remark that they had reached the outposts of Bella Coola.

The same lack of leadership shown during preparations for a war was evident during hostilities. The so-called leader had little authority over his men, who could desert and return home at any time. Lack of martial ability among their own chiefs sometimes led the Bella Coola to place themselves under the authority of a Bella Bella in a way which would be impossible for a war-like people. Frequently such divided leadership led to disaster, and it is the surest proof that the Bella Coola were not as aggressive or bellicose as other coastal tribes.

Except when attacking the Carrier, all raiding parties embarked in canoes and followed a definite order of procedure handed down from the past. In the stern of each craft sat the captain, a chief, who, as the craft was leaving, began to sing his [illegible] song, keeping time to it with the beats of his paddle; the recounting of the glories of their ancestors was supposed to encourage the warriors. Instead of leaving simultaneously, a rendezvous was often chosen down the fiord, and the expedition finally moved off from there when all the canoes had arrived. While still in friendly territory, a flotilla proceeded openly. A small amount of dried salmon and water was carried by a war party and morsels of the former were eaten at intervals. The bow-man took as much food and drink as he thought could be consumed at one sitting, put a fragment of dried salmon in his mouth, chewed it four times on the same side of his mouth as he was paddling, and swallowed it. Then

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[1] [illegible]

[illegible] to sleep. Meanwhile, their wives at home were expected to be very careful, since a woman's heedless playing would cause injury to her husband, and furthermore, [illegible]. These restrictions were obligatory during the absence of the expedition.

As the party neared the enemy's country, they would conceal the craft under projecting trees by day and travel only at night. When within striking distance, a scouting canoe was sent forward to learn the hostile dispositions, the best means of approach, and so forth. This was usually done at dusk, and when the scouts had returned, the party would steal quietly through the forest and hide behind the unsuspecting village. At dawn the leader would give the signal, and the attackers would rush forward with a fierce shout, killing all the men and seizing women and children as slaves. When captives were taken by slave members of the expedition, they belonged to the latter's masters. The victors would cut off the heads of their victims, seize what loot they could, set fire to the village and rush home before support could arrive from neighbouring towns. At first, the slaughter was usually a somewhat unpleasant task, but as the warriors became inflamed with the lust of battle, they began to delight in killing, and even women and children frequently suffered.

The exulting victors sped homewards, rejoicing at their success but somewhat fearful that they might be cut off by overwhelming reinforcements. During the journey, each warrior who had taken a head removed the scalp by cutting the skin around the cranium close above the eyebrows and ears. These trophies were [illegible] at the rock [illegible] on the [illegible] below Bella Coola. When within sight of home, the captain stood up in the canoe and sang again his war song, a symbol of victory as the bloody scalps were held aloft. Women and children would rush forth to greet the conquerors who landed amid scenes of wild excitement and rejoicing.

Prisoners of war became the property of those who had taken them, with the exception of those captured by slaves

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] leg	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	is carrying	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	is carrying	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	she will give it us.

[illegible]

[illegible]

After some time, his sisters plucked up courage to return and saw him lying there. One of them became suspicious and began to sing:[1] 534

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	the blood	[illegible]

A free translation of this is: "How strange is the blood with which our relative is covered!"

Raven raised himself slightly, as if in great pain, and answered:

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
You are wickedly stupid!	You are wickedly stupid!	It must be

[illegible]	[illegible]
the blood,	[illegible]

Then he groaned[2] feebly and became silent.

At first his sisters did not believe his protestations and repeated their doubting song, but he assured them that he was speaking the truth so they were finally convinced. Raven instructed them to carry him home very carefully. On reaching the beach, all their fellow-villagers came crowding around, and when they learnt of their chief's injury, they loudly expressed their sympathy. Raven continued his groanings, and when he had been taken to his house, one of the neighbours began to sponge away the blood. Much to his surprise, he could find no wound; then, looking more carefully, he recognized that the "blood" was only berry-juice. He proclaimed his discovery in a loud voice, and everyone laughed at Raven, thus caught deceiving his sisters.

RAVEN AND HIS SISTERS
(Second Version)

Once upon a time, Raven set out with his four sisters to gather berries. They travelled in his self-moving canoe, [illegible], which soon brought them to a place where fruit was plentiful. Raven, greedy as usual, wanted to eat at once the berries which his sisters brought to the craft, whereas they wished to keep them for winter use. When they insisted, Raven determined to outwit them by his cunning. When soon the women were out of sight, Raven went ashore and arranged for a ruse to [illegible]

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[1] Recorded as song [illegible], National Museum of Canada [illegible]. The same method of recording has been used as for dance songs, although the [illegible] [535]

[2] [illegible]

[illegible]

S. McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

[illegible] Bellacoola [illegible]

§ 534 "Your son was eaten, bit by bit, by the Wolves, the people whom you scorned."

[illegible] hurried to the land of the Wolves, alternately weeping and singing:

(2) "When the mist was half-way down the mountain and there was no wind, at that time my son was dead."

Presently he reached the Wolf village, where a dance and feast were in progress in the chief's house. [illegible] was invited inside, and the chief asked him if he could dance.

"Yes," said [illegible]. "I will show you my celebrated dance, but I must have mussel-shells tied to my legs."

When this was done, [illegible] began to dance, violently, and, as he went on, his hosts fell asleep, one by one, until only an old woman remained awake. [illegible] danced immediately in front of her until she too slumbered. Then he took off the mussel-shells and began to cut the throats of the Wolves with them. When about half-finished the old woman showed signs of waking, so [illegible] hastily discontinued his slaughter to dance before her, and again she slept. All except a few had been killed when the old woman woke up and saw what was happening. She roused the others with a cry:

"Wake up! Wake up! Our visitor is murdering us!"

[illegible] fled into the woods with Wolves in pursuit. They pressed him so closely that he climbed a tree, a feat which [illegible] could do in those days, but Wolves could not. The pursuers returned to their house and asked the old woman what they ought to do. She told them they must learn a song, which, when sung at the foot of the tree in which [illegible] had taken refuge, would cause him to fall down. So they sat down and she taught them the following words:[3]

[illegible] || [illegible] || [illegible] || [illegible]
[illegible]?[4] [illegible]?[5]

[illegible] || [illegible] || [illegible] || [illegible]
[illegible] || [illegible] || [illegible] || [illegible]

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[1]Recorded as song [illegible] by the National Museum of Canada [illegible].

[2]This song is said to have been handed down for many years. The words are practically unintelligible and the Bella Coola do not profess to understand them. They assume that the melody was made by a supernatural being and that this was [illegible] for the [illegible].

[3]It is clear that the singers were not to address the [illegible] by name.

[4]This sound is supposed to represent a loud snore. The singer gasps it out as if on the point of falling into a heavy sleep.

T. McIlwraith B-1 (1922-1924) [illegible]
[illegible] McIlwraith [illegible]

their carving ability and a man can satisfy his [illegible] by working for a few months each summer. The decline of ceremonials has left a blank in their lives, not easily filled, alas, with drinking, idleness, and vice. It is inevitable that the old rites and old ambitions should pass, but the prohibition of these before new ones had taken their place, has been disastrous. The Bella Coola have lost their pride, a calamity as fatal to a people as to an individual.

They have shown undoubted ability in developing each of their own [illegible] to fit the needs and requirements of the white man. Expert carpenters for generations, they have readily learnt the use of new tools and now build houses and boats of considerable constructional skill. They have proved themselves capable employees of the canneries which rely to a large extent upon Indian labour. Under instruction from a white teacher, a number of the younger men have formed a band which gives creditable performances with wind and percussion instruments. One can only deplore the fact that the skill of the Bella Coola in carving, painting, acting, singing, composing, and story-telling could not have been guided into channels where it would have developed and added lustre to the new world in which they find themselves.

The white man's civilization presses forward as an overwhelming flood, blotting out the cultures of lesser peoples in all parts of the world. This is inevitable, probably it is well that it should be so, but it offers little consolation to a tribe like the Bella Coola. Their life has been destroyed, and, wonderingly, [illegible], [illegible], the survivors watch the downfall of all that their ancestors cherished. Too often the white man fails to understand this, too often he fails to realize that progress, as he sees it, is wiping out valuable elements of civilization other than his own instead of seeking the good in them and preserving it for the benefit of himself and the native alike. The Bella Coola culture is dying, and with it will pass forever something created by a Canadian people, not great perhaps, but indelibly stamped with their personality.

[illegible]

STRING FIGURES

[illegible] 524 121 186 123 535 646 887 533 121

[illegible] 128 524

[illegible]

[illegible] 524

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]: Excess of amount returned over that previously received as an investment present.
[illegible]: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
[illegible]: 1—Supernatural beings who dwell in the sun house.
2—Voice of the supernatural woman, [illegible]; the term is occasionally applied to the being herself. The sound is produced by [illegible] whistles.
[illegible]: One of the nine supernatural siblings.
[illegible]: "The Coming of Foul Weather," in the language of supernatural beings. The phenomenon is [illegible].
[illegible]: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
2—Ancestor [illegible] from whom the village is supposedly named.
[illegible]: [illegible] name of a Bella Coola man; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
[illegible]: Supernatural beings who blacken the face of the moon at eclipses.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
2—Daughter of an [illegible] chief mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: 1—One of the designations of [illegible], the [illegible] supernatural woman.
2—[illegible].
[illegible]: String consisting of two long ropes with [illegible].
[illegible]: Spruce leaves.
[illegible]: [illegible] name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Label.
[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at Calvert Island in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible]: Ritual repeated at intervals between the allotment of [illegible] for a potlatch, and the [illegible] of a supernatural being in the first [illegible].
[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible]: [illegible] name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Third part of song.
[illegible]: Pleasure expeditions of boys and girls to the forest.
[illegible]: Name of an unknown [illegible].
[illegible]: Supernatural man-eater, patron of Cannibals.
[illegible]: Stick [illegible] by one of the ancestors in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Supernatural female [illegible] resident in the land of the dead.
[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible]: One of the Thousand Islands near [illegible].
[illegible]: [illegible] name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Cannibal.
[illegible]: Marriage with [illegible] of a deceased wife; [illegible].
[illegible]: Supernatural monster similar to a human being.
[illegible]: Supernatural woman, wife of Cold Wind and mother of Ice.
[illegible]: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: The contributions of a [illegible], during the period of engagement, from the father of the future bridegroom to the father of the future bride.

[illegible]

2: McIlwraith R-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NRA Bellacoola NBB

#192 [illegible], "Come and eat": Invitation to the [illegible] to assemble in a performer's house.
[illegible]: [illegible] [illegible].
[illegible]: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.
[752] [illegible]: [illegible].
[585] [illegible]: 1—Property, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.
[431] 2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.
[578] [illegible], "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Sale of the copper by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.
[illegible]: 1—[illegible].
2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.
[illegible]: One of the names of the supreme god.
[301] [illegible]: Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting place.
[553] [illegible]: The employment of [illegible] [illegible] hunting.
[illegible]: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.
[illegible], "The Planting": Synonym for [illegible], q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.
[illegible]: Kusiut rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.
[illegible]: The catching of [illegible] masks on the fire.
[147] [illegible], "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
[illegible]: [illegible].
[illegible], "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a [illegible] dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

[101] [illegible]: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.
[601] [illegible]: Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.
[illegible]: [illegible] brother or half-sister.
[illegible]: 1—Wife.
2—Son, term used by old person in direct address to adult.
3—Husband.
[614] [illegible]: Male relative of same ancestral family.
[illegible]: Woman who performs man's work.
[607] [illegible]: Single brother in a family with several sisters.
[illegible], [illegible]: Small boy, especially son, term used in address to children.
[431] [584] [illegible], "Washing Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.
[82.1] [illegible]: Cold wind of the mornings, [illegible].
[illegible]: Bella Bella term for the [illegible].
[563] [illegible]: Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

E: McIlwraith E-3 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

#192

[illegible]: The charm that keeps a foolish man from success as a chief; the concept is semi-anthropomorphical.

[illegible]: First ceremonial discharge.

[illegible]: [illegible] village.

[illegible]: Supernatural creature dwelling in the ocean.

[1156] [illegible]: Shaman who received power from ghosts.

[illegible]: Bella Coola [illegible].

[1172] [illegible], "Canyon"¹: Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the anglicized Kimsquit has been derived.

[illegible]: Dean River.

[illegible]: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

[1103] [illegible]: 1—Whale.
2—Ancestral name of a Talio woman; this is said to be an exclusively [illegible] designation.

[illegible]: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Individual ([illegible] child), who died about 1920.

[922] [illegible]: Windows.

[illegible]: White fir (?).

[924] [illegible]: Herring.

[illegible]: Prerogative of biting oneself.

[illegible]: Dried salmon.

[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible]: one of the [illegible] of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of masked representations of the deceased. The word is derived from [illegible].

[922] [illegible]: Porpoise.

[942] [illegible]: Supernatural being who behaves in an erratic manner.

[illegible]: Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.

[924] [illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: Unidentified berry (crowberry?).

[illegible]: Supernatural female shaman who guided [illegible].

[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.

[illegible], "Earthy Ones"¹: Ghosts.

[575] [illegible]: Land, region, earth.

[illegible]: First part of song.

[illegible]: [illegible] mountain about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[825] [illegible], "The One Who Makes Us Fat"¹: Supernatural name of [illegible] salmon.

[765] [illegible]: Goods distributed to outsiders [illegible] songs used at a mourning ceremony when an impersonation of the deceased has been completed.

[576] [illegible]: Insult offered to foreigners or potlatches concerning their manners or food.

[601] [illegible] or [illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], investment present?

[632] [illegible]: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Grandfather.

[601] [illegible]: Kusiut ceremonial at which foreigners are present.

[illegible]: The construction of salmon-weirs.

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¹This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an [illegible] [illegible] sound.

2:McIlwraith E-3 (1922-1924) 1948
NEG Bellacoola NEG

192*

[illegible]: Generic term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431] [584]
[illegible]: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the land above. [576]
[illegible]: Good-bye.
[illegible], "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *[illegible]*.
[illegible]: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular kusiut dances.
[illegible]: Said to be identical with [illegible], the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [756]
[illegible]: plural, [illegible]; [illegible]; [illegible] plural, [illegible].
1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [575]
2—Member of the society.
3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [756]
[illegible]: Kimsquit female shaman living in the last century.
[illegible]: Beloved one, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.
[illegible]: Orphan.
[illegible]: Woman dwelling at Port Rupert in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Smith Inlet.
[illegible]: Supernatural name of Cormorant. [826]
[illegible]: Mosquito.
[illegible]: [illegible] acquired by the first settlers at [illegible]. [963]
[illegible]: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death.
[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: Kusiut name of a male [illegible] Cannibal.
[illegible]: Smooth greenstone, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]
[illegible]: Evergreen bough. [824]
[illegible]: Famous Bella Coola warrior.
[illegible]: One of the sculpins.
[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
[illegible], "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.
[illegible]: Man who came to earth near [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Kimsquit woman.
[illegible]: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: One of the first men to arrive at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Kitlope chief living in the last century.
[illegible], "One Who Sits without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[illegible]: Influential Kwakiutl woman [illegible] in the beginning of time by a [illegible] chief; the word is a synonym for *[illegible]*.
[illegible]: One of the nine supernatural siblings. [538]
[illegible]: Lullaby.
[illegible]: Archaic expression used in a string figure.
[illegible]: 1—Pit or trap in the stream for salmon. [226]
2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

1924

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a [illegible] repository derived from a supernatural ancestor.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

[illegible]: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative of imitating [illegible]. [424]

[illegible]: Song sung by a *kusiut* dancer on recovery from apparent death. [861]

[illegible]: Regular [illegible] given to a male child.

[illegible], "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

[illegible]: Rain after storm, anthropomorphized. The personality refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

[illegible], "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

[illegible]: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial dances. [626]

[illegible]: Outright bestowal of a prerogative at marriage. [425]

[illegible]: Departure to a new locality.

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: Father's brother or mother's brother. [601]

[illegible]: Paddle.

[illegible]: Dangerous power such as is present at various petrified places. [501]

[illegible]: One of the names of the supreme god. [778]

[illegible]: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind.
3—Synonym for [illegible], the large sized whale.
4—Killer whale. [825]
5—Song.
6—*Kusiut* name of one of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Part of a peculiar repository.

[illegible]: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior. [533]

[illegible]: Woollen cloth.

[illegible], "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

[illegible]: Celebrated [illegible] chief living in the last century.

[illegible]: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a dependent person. [828]
2—Individual making such a journey. [484]

[illegible]: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.

[illegible]: Place where healing power is petrified.

[illegible]: Synonym for *[illegible]*, the supernatural being connected with [illegible].

[illegible]: *Kusiut* dance or object used in the land above which serves as pattern or model, thereafter, for the [illegible] on earth.

[illegible]: Actual goods used for the "Opening," the first public ceremony of a forthcoming marriage. [534]

[illegible]: Unmarried mother. [848]

[illegible]: To perform the services of a herald to a [illegible], especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word [illegible] may be connected with this.

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[824] [illegible]: Cedar roots.
[illegible]: Sling.
[578] [illegible]: To use a sling.
[illegible]: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] [illegible]: Fleecy cloud.
[illegible]: Muzzle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary food.
[412] [illegible]: Wooden comb.
[illegible]: Land of Ashes, alternative term for [illegible].
[601] [illegible]: Umbilical hernia.
[illegible]: Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
[illegible]: Long phallus.
[illegible]: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[illegible]: Unconsumed portion of share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
[illegible]: Food distributed for carrying away as [illegible].
[415] [illegible]: Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
[illegible]: Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
[431] [illegible]: Maple.
[824] [illegible]: Sudden start that expels the spirit.
[illegible]: Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
[illegible]: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
[illegible]: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium*.
[533] [illegible]: 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions to the faults of someone present.
2—Singers who use this type of composition.
[825] [illegible]: Large, unidentified bird.
[374] [illegible]: Host: A supernatural being.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
[825] [illegible]: Loon.
[262] [illegible]: Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of preventing hunger.
[illegible], "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks": *[illegible]* name obtained in the beginning of time.
[illegible]; *plural*, [illegible]; *vocative plural*, [illegible]:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *[illegible]* for a grandson.
5—*Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
[601] [illegible]: Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] [illegible]: Rat.
[illegible]: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
[601] [illegible]: Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
[614] [illegible]: Whetstone.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] [illegible]: Mountain near *Talio*.
[illegible], "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
[illegible]: Archaic term for chick, now used only rhetorically.
[824] [illegible]: Cranberry.

Tṣaicalimut: One of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

tṣikmdimut, "A Coming up from Below into Plain Sight": Term used with reference to the obtaining of a call through the medium of Dark-Shade.

[424] *tṣimtl,* "Whence We Came": A possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[103] *Tṣakiik:* Old village near the head of Dean Channel, at the site of the present cannery on the opposite side of the fiord from Manitou Cannery.

Tṣaqtṣa·laqtim: Tree, inhabited by owls, behind the supreme god's house.

tṣuailwalsl: Space in a house between central fire and row of chiefs seated behind it.

U

U·sʼaus, "What Is Wanted Is Lacking": Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Alqalsal* in the beginning of time.

W

Wakus: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Ḳwiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snalsk* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwalst* in the beginning of time.
4—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
5—Name of the Kimsquit River as chief.
6—*Sisauk* name of a Kimsquit man.

[825] *waʼi·s:* 1—Cohoe salmon.
2—Name acquired by a man from cohoe salmon.

Waiaxnm: Man who descended to the Clearwater River in the beginning of time.

Wakitmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
2—Fraser River.

Wakwus: Village at Kwatna Inlet. This word is in the Bella Bella language.

Walqkimai: One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.

[825] *wal·tsqia:* Lynx.

waliku': Woman who has deserted her husband.

[586] *wakmptsnm:* To express a desire construing the disposal of one's goods after death.

wakiwa: "I go."

[824] *wallikwaltsalatsalats,* "The Most Potent of the Pond": Water-lily.

Wanqt: Name of *Smaiax*'s grandchild in the beginning of time.

Wanuq: 1—Rivers Inlet.
2—Collective term for the villages on its shores.

Wasmqalain: *Nusatsem* name of a Kimsquit man.

Wasmal·is: Celebrated shaman, central figure in an ancient tale.

Wasyl·a: Tribal name of one of the Bella Bella-speaking groups.

Wa·pat: Mountain near *Stuie.*

Wasila: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[533] *waskusiutsis:* Death in the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place.

wa·nlm·imutsts: Mourning songs regarded as expressions of real, not ceremonial, grief.

[765] *wa·sq^m nusmiklqaslh:* Synonym for *sq^m*: The sky.

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[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a *[illegible]* man.
[illegible]: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name brought from above in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: 1—Supernatural beings who request the sun to appear.
2—One of the first men to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.
[593] [illegible]: Beautiful type of song used by chiefs on war expeditions and at potlatches.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman. The designation is of Bella Bella origin.
[825] [illegible]: Marten.
[412] [illegible]: Stone axe.
[illegible]: Party of potlatch messengers and the invitation they bear.
[203] [illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Adult man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Celebrated female shaman.
[821] [illegible], plural, [illegible]: Little girl.
[illegible]: 1—"Little Girls": Group of stars in the Great Bear.
[517] 2—Picnic, especially one on which fern root is gathered.
[illegible]: Bella Coola term for the Carriers living near Ootsa Lake. This is said to be their own name for themselves.
[illegible], "Right Foot": *[illegible]* depository named from part of a supernatural creature.
[illegible]: Mountain in the Carrier country.
[illegible]: Spirit, one of the supernatural elements in the human body.
[illegible]: Ceremony prior to a potlatch when tasks are allotted and the donor's house destroyed.
[illegible]: The entrusting, before death, of a name for the benefit of a relative.
[illegible]: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
[586] [illegible]: The irrevocable desertion of her husband by a wife.
[illegible]: Locality below *[illegible]*.
[825] [illegible]: Minnows.
[601] [illegible]: Woman, or wife in indirect address (*[illegible]*: My wife).
[illegible]: Female relatives of same ancestral family, term of indirect address.
[614] [illegible] or [illegible]: The right by which a husband uses his wife's land, though it is not his own.
[423] [illegible]: Bella Coola sorcerer living in the last century.
[illegible]: The forcible washing of a Cannibal.
[illegible]: Name acquired by a man mentioned in an ancient story.
[785] [illegible]: Intercourse held during ceremonial chastity; the term has a sacred significance.
[891] [illegible]: Male professional singer who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
[illegible]: Ancestral name of a *[illegible]* man. The designation is said to have come from Smith Inlet.
[illegible]: Supernatural scoop-net fisherman, servant of the supreme god.
[illegible]: Bella Coola man mentioned in an ancient story.